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Leadership among the Samnites and related Oscan-speaking peoples between the fifth and first centuries BC

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Leadership among the Samnites and related
Oscan-speaking peoples between the fifth and first
centuries BC

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Abstract

The thesis studies the Samnite political systems in two regions, the central Apennines and Campania, between the fifth and first centuries BC. The thesis revisits previous arguments about the political structures, creates and modifies models for the functioning of Samnite political institutions by using Roman and Greek literary sources, Oscan inscriptions, archaeological and numismatic evidence.

The introductory chapter explains the aims and problems of the thesis and summarizes the achievements of previous studies in the field. Chapter two focuses on the political institutions of the highland Samnites. It rejects the view of a long-lived Samnite league and argues instead that Samnite tribes and autonomous communities formed loose, temporary alliances to wage wars and to promote religious cults in the fourth and third centuries BC. Defeat in the Samnite Wars resulted in the independent development of Samnite federal states in the central Apennines. The chapter concentrates on the political institutions of the best-attested Pentri tribe and argues that the *meddix tuticus* was the single, annual and eponymous leader of this federal state.

Chapters three to six study evidence for the political structures of Campania. Chapter three argues that there is little evidence to suggest that Capua headed a long-lived league, although its hegemony over Atella, Calatia and Sabatinum may be allowed. Chapter four suggests that Cumae was independent from Capua. Chapter five concludes that the evidence does not suggest that Abella was subordinate to Nola. Chapter six challenges that idea that Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiae and Surrentum formed a league under the leadership of Nuceria Alfaterna. Chapter seven briefly summarizes the arguments and achievements of the thesis.

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Maps

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Abbreviations

Bu = Buck, C. D., *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* (Hildesheim, New York, 1974).

Co = Conway, R. S., *The Italic Dialects* (Cambridge, 1897).

NSc = Notizie degli Scavi

Pi = Pisani, V., *Le lingue dell'Italia antica oltre il latino* (Turin, 1953)

Pocc = Poccetti, P., *Nuovi documenti italici: a complemento del Manuale di E. Vetter* (Pisa, 1979).

REI = Rivista di Epigrafia Italica in Studi Etruschi, followed by the number and the year of the publication of the Studi Etruschi.

RhM = Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.

ST = Rix, H., *Sabellische Texte: die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Südpikenischen* (Heidelberg, 2002). Followed by the abbreviation of the region where the inscription comes from and the number of the inscription, both as given in the edition.

Strazzulla = Strazzulla, M. J., 'Il santuario sannitico di Pietrabbondante', *Documenti di antichità italiche e romane I* (Molise, 1973).

Ve = Vetter, E., *Handbuch der Italischen Dialekte* (Heidelberg, 1953).

Chapter 1. Introduction

1. 1. Contents of the thesis

This thesis examines the political institutions of the Samnites in two geographical regions, the central Apennines and Campania, in the period between the fifth and first centuries BC. New finds of inscriptions and tile-stamps attesting magistrates and new archaeological data from the central Apennines make it worth re-examining previous arguments on leadership views. From the last quarter of the fifth century BC, the Samnites from the central Apennines occupied most of the cities of Campania. They took their language and their own political institutions with them, as literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence confirm. By studying and comparing the evidence from these two regions together, I hope to develop a more holistic and better founded interpretation of the political institutions of each known community.

The Samnites of the central Apennines are generally supposed to have formed a permanent league to govern their territories, to wage wars and to celebrate common cults. So too, some of the cities of Campania are supposed to have formed three confederations under the leadership of Capua, Nola and Nuceria. The aim of the thesis is to see if the existence of the highland Samnite league and the confederations of Campania can be confirmed from the evidence for political institutions in these two regions. A recurrent question is the meaning of the title of the *meddix* and the various adjectives, especially *tuticus*, by which it was usually qualified. The rest of this chapter reviews scholarship in the field.

Chapter 2 looks at what the accounts of the Samnite Wars, Second Punic War and Social War tell us about the political structure of the Samnites of the central Apennines and whether it is justified to speak of a long-term league of Samnite peoples. The normal view is that the population of the central Apennines lived predominantly in villages, while their political organization is described as 'tribal'. I examine the notion of a tribal state through the study of the recent archaeological evidence for the settlement pattern, hill-forts and sanctuaries and the study of the political institutions attested in inscriptions of the Pentri. The Hirpini, Caudini and the Carracini will be omitted because of the lack of relevant inscriptions from these regions.

Chapters 3 to 6 are about Campania and have similar structures. Their aim is to see if there is good evidence for the existence of confederations headed by Capua, Nola and Nuceria: whether literary evidence suggests the subordination of a number of towns to these cities; whether the coinages of these cities could have served as federal money for the organizations they headed; whether epigraphic evidence supports the thesis of confederations.

The study of Samnite political institutions is hindered by several difficulties. The first is the paucity of literary and epigraphic evidence. The Samnites did not leave behind their own literature. Greek and Roman writers mention the Samnites only when they come into contact with them, mainly in their accounts of the Samnite Wars, Second Punic War and Social War. Literary sources alone do not provide us with enough information to assess what political structures the Samnites had. The epigraphic evidence is scattered and covers a long time period, which can distort our picture. In the central Apennines, almost all the epigraphic evidence comes from rural sanctuaries. Most of the stone inscriptions were found at Pietrabbondante and

date from the late third to early first century BC, while tile stamps, whose importance has increased since the finds at the rural sanctuary of Campochiaro, were mainly found in the area of Bovianum. In Campania, we have numerous inscriptions of a funerary type at Capua from the fourth to third centuries BC and dedicatory inscriptions at Pompeii mainly dating from the second century BC. A handful of dedications by magistrates has also been found at Herculaneum, Cumae, Nola and Abella, also from the second century BC.

1. 2. History of scholarship

In this section, I summarize the contributions of historians and linguists to the study of public institutions in pre-Roman Southern Italy and I give an overview of how our understanding of the Italic world and its political institutions has changed since the late nineteenth century. In doing so, I focus on two sets of questions. First, what is the literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence for the nature of public institutions of Samnite states, and can it tell us anything about the office of the *meddix/meddix tuticus*? Second, how have historians contextualised this office or offices within the broader environment of constitutions and state formation? Reference will be made to the study of the Italic world in general in order to understand the position and contribution of several seminal studies.

Nineteenth-century historiography focused on the city of Rome and identified the history of the peninsula with that of Rome. The Italic world was not credited with its own political institutions but was treated as land to be ‘civilised’. Roman expansion was perceived as a sequence of military successes leading to the

unification of Italy and the growth of a world power. Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte*, the product of German idealist historicism, was one of the most influential works of the time, although its flaws and controversial claims were noted at an early date.¹ The world to be conquered by the Roman army was divided into states with fixed borders and distinct ethnic origins, that is the territorial states of the Umbrians, Vestini, Frentani, Paeligni, Marsi, Samnites, Campani, Lucani and so on.

The title *meddix* is characteristic of the Oscan and Umbrian languages. Inscriptions attesting this office have been found over a large area: written in Oscan it occurs in Campania and in the central Apennines. Attestations from Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily, and also on a helmet of unknown origin are written in the Greek alphabet. The territories of the Volsci, Aequicoli and Marsi have yielded evidence in Latin, while from Assisi we have evidence in Umbrian. In Oscan, the word appears in the nominative singular as *meddis* or *meddiss*, sometimes abbreviated as *m*, *med*, *medd*, and *m d* in Campania. *Meddis* occurs several times on the Tabula Bantina in Lucania, *medix* at Velletri in the territory of the Volsci, *medis* at Antinum and *meddiss* at Collemaggiore in the territory of the Aequicoli, all in the Latin alphabet. At Assisi it appears in Umbrian as *mestiça*. In Greek script the title appears in Lucania as *μεδικται* (locative singular) and in Sicily as *μεδδειξ* (nominative plural). Scholars normally use the Latinised version *meddix*. The word *meddiss* is a compound of two Italic words, **med-* or **med-es-* 'right', and **dik-* 'to say, to declare' and thus corresponds to the Latin word '*iudex*'.² The title is more often than not qualified by an adjective. Sometimes the adjective represents the name of a location. Other adjectives include *aticus* and *degetasius* at Corfinium and Nola

¹ On how contemporary views and events influenced Mommsen's works as ancient historian, see Mouritsen (1998) 23-37.

² Untermann (2000) 459.

repectively, while at Punta della Campanella we find the title of *meddix menerevius* and at Cumae the offices of *meddix v* and *meddix x*. However, the title is most often qualified by the adjective *tuticus* (in Latinized form). *Tuticus* is related to the noun *touta*, which is also found in Umbrian inscriptions. This word comes from the Proto-Indo-European word **teutah₂* which originally meant ‘mass, people’. The possible meaning of *touta* in Oscan and theories about its extension will be discussed later.

The main debate which has occupied studies of the public institutions of Southern Italy since the late nineteenth century is over the differences that the above mentioned adjectives make to the title of *meddix*. Early, mainly German, scholarship focused on several aspects of the office: was the office of the plain *meddix* different from that of the *meddix tuticus*? Was the authority of the *meddix tuticus* local or federal? Was it a single or a collegial office? Was it yearly and elective?

The first attempt to place Oscan inscriptions from Campania into a broader context was that of Beloch at the end of the nineteenth century.³ Beloch’s work was strongly influenced by the nineteenth-century German national liberalism and by political events of his time, such as the birth of nation states. Beloch, following Mommsen, imagined long-lived federal states in southern Italy, reflecting the German cantonal system of his time. Beloch argued that Capua and Nuceria were the capitals of two cantonal federations (*Gauverbände*) consisting of a number of settlements around these cities.⁴ Another novelty of Beloch’s thesis was the suggestion that the supposed leagues in Campania were each headed by a *meddix tuticus*.⁵ Beloch also saw evidence for the existence of local public institutions in the titles of *meddis [k]apv(ans)* and *medikeis pūmpaiianeis*, local officers whose title

³ Beloch (1880).

⁴ Beloch (1890) 315, Beloch (1877) 285-98.

⁵ Beloch (1877) 295-6.

was qualified by the place-name of their communities (*Bundesstädte*) and who were subordinate to the authority of the *meddix tuticus*.⁶

Beloch's thesis was first questioned by Garofalo, but it was Rosenberg's comparative study of Italic constitutions that brought some of its problems to wider attention.⁷ Rosenberg's work opened up a new generation of studies that argued that the Italic states enjoyed their own political and constitutional life, which had some influence on the development of Roman political institutions. Rosenberg paid more attention to the processes by which the Italic communities came into contact with Roman power. He argued that the title *medik(u)d túvtik(ud) kapv(anud)* attested in an inscription from Capua does not fit Beloch's thesis that the *meddix tuticus* was a federal magistrate, because the *meddix tuticus* would not have been called *Campanus* if he had not been a local magistrate of Capua.⁸ Rosenberg also proposed that Oscan towns and cities were governed by pairs of *meddices*.⁹ He saw a reference to the pairs of *meddices* in Ennius' phrase *summus ibi capitur meddix, occiditur alter*, which implies that one of them was superior to the other.¹⁰ Ennius' *summus meddix* can be compared to Livy's description of a *meddix tuticus* of Capua who was *summus magistratus Campanis*.¹¹ Rosenberg also cited an inscription from Capua: *medik. minive kersna[i]ias*.¹² The expression *medik. minive* had been interpreted by Buck as *meddix minor*, and Rosenberg argued that Buck's *meddix minor* was in fact the (*meddix*) *alter* of Ennius.¹³ Rosenberg concluded that the *meddix tuticus* was the *summus magistratus* in Ennius, in other words the chief political, juridical and

⁶ Beloch (1890) 11. Now ST Cp31, Cp35 and ST Po 1.

⁷ Garofalo (1903) 61-79; Rosenberg (1913).

⁸ Rosenberg (1913) 18.

⁹ Rosenberg noted that two *meddices* appear on inscriptions at Messina (ST Me 1-3), Nola (ST Cm 6, 7 and Cm 1 A3-5), Corfinium (ST Pg1) and Velitrae (ST Vm 2).

¹⁰ Rosenberg (1913) 21.

¹¹ Livy 23. 35. 13.

¹² Ennius, Ann. 289; ST Cp 34.

¹³ See Rosenberg (1913) 22.

military leader of the city after whom years were named. His inferior was a *meddix*, whose task was to run everyday administration.¹⁴

Less than two decades later Weinstock rejected several points of Rosenberg's thesis.¹⁵ He criticised the idea of the unequal collegiality in the office of *meddix* by pointing out that the *summus magistratus* in Ennius is the office of the *meddix tuticus*; if two *meddices* had been in office, Ennius would have written *superior* instead of *summus*. The fact that most inscriptions attest single *meddices tutici* and that passages in Livy imply that the year was named after them would indicate that the office of *meddix tuticus* was single. Weinstock also doubted that all Oscan communities were governed by pairs of *meddices*, he argued that pairs of magistrates, where they appear, are signs of Roman constitutional influence after the communities had become allies of Rome. Weinstock's most important point was that the adjective *tuticus* does not refer to any particular function and was therefore dispensable because *meddices* without a qualifying adjective performed the same duties as *meddices tutici*. The title of *meddix* is a general term for the *magistratus* in Oscan, as confirmed by the use of the word *meddix* in the Tabula Bantina and by Festus: '*Meddix apud Oscos nomen magistratus est*'.¹⁶

The title of *meddix tuticus* has also been compared to Roman offices. Building on the notion that the use of the word *meddix* in the Tabula Bantina and in Festus implies that it corresponded to the Latin word *magistratus*, the title of the *meddix tuticus* has been connected to that of the *magister populi*, which Weinstock noted was the original name for the Roman *dictator*.¹⁷ He later modified his view and suggested that the leading office of the Samnite states was similar to the yearly

¹⁴ Rosenberg (1913) 28.

¹⁵ Weinstock (1931) 243.

¹⁶ Festus, p. 123 L.

¹⁷ Weinstock (1931) 237.

dictatorship of the Latin states.¹⁸ Some historians noted that in Latin inscriptions the *meddices* in Oscan communities were replaced by *praetors*, and in literature the words *praetor* and *strategos* are used instead of *meddix*.¹⁹

All scholars after Weinstock have agreed that the *meddix tuticus* was not a pan-Samnite federal magistrate. However, the number and collegiality of the *meddices* have continued to be debated, as well as whether the titles of *meddix tuticus* and plain *meddix* denoted the same office. Heurgon accepted that the *meddix tuticus* was the single leading officer of a community, but argued that the *meddix* without any adjective was inferior (*minive* or *minor*) to the *meddix tuticus*, similar to the relationship of the *praetores minores* to the *praetor urbanus* at Rome.²⁰ Mazzarino argued against the existence of separate Etruscan, Latin or Oscan constitutions, he instead championed the idea of an Italic *koine* with a common constitution but with many local variations, so that changes would have had repercussions on the neighbouring communities.²¹ This argument allowed for some communities with only one eponymous *meddix*, as in Lucania. Others, however, had two equal *meddices*, as at Velletri and Messina, or two unequal ones as at Capua.²² Mazzarino also suggested that the collegial *magistratus* had evolved from the single magistracy. The colleagues in office in several communities were replaced by pairs of *praetores* under Roman influence, as at Anagni of the Hernici and Velletri of the Volsci.²³

Although the argument that the *meddix tuticus* was a federal magistrate has been generally been rejected, few doubts have been raised about the existence of leagues in Campania. Sartori's work, for instance, begins with the affirmation that

¹⁸ Weinstock (1931) 245.

¹⁹ CIL IX 689, 690, 698, Livy 8. 39. 13; 23. 7. 8; 24. 47. 7; Diodorus 22. 13. 2, 5.

²⁰ Heurgon (1942) 235.

²¹ Mazzarino (1992).

²² Mazzarino (1992) 162.

²³ Mazzarino (1992) 163.

there were three leagues in Campania, those of Capua, Nola and Nuceria.²⁴ On the basis that both offices were eponymous, Sartori concluded that the words *meddix* and *meddix tuticus* denote the same office. This would also imply that the qualifying adjective *tuticus* was unnecessary.²⁵ Whenever a *meddix* is attested without an adjective, Sartori argued, he was the supreme magistrate, but whenever we have the title *meddix tuticus*, there was probably also a *meddix minive* as a magistrate of lower rank.²⁶ Three years later, Camporeale attempted to separate the original Samnite offices from those instituted under Roman influence, and to place the offices in a chronological framework. However, his study did not contribute to any of the previously debated aspects of the offices.²⁷

Scholars after Sartori have been more interested in another important topic.²⁸ During the 1960s, historians and linguists approached the office of *meddix tuticus* by examining the adjective of the title; they tried to define the meaning and extension of the *touta* and to determine the authority of the *meddix tuticus* in the light of this analysis. The word *touta* is attested in a number of Indo-European languages, as shown by Watmough.²⁹ The study of the *touta* was not an entirely new topic. The definition of *touta* varies according to the interpretation of the *meddix tuticus* title and so scholarly opinion can be divided into two groups: Beloch referred to the *meddix tuticus* as the magistrate of a *Gauverbände*, equating a *touta* with the territory of a federation. His followers, like Zotta, argued that a *touta* was a unit larger than a *civitas*, which must have been identical with one of Beloch's federations.³⁰ Rosenberg, who did not think that the *meddix tuticus* was at the head of a federation,

²⁴ Sartori (1953) 18.

²⁵ Sartori (1953) 21.

²⁶ Sartori (1953) 21.

²⁷ Camporeale (1957) 31-108.

²⁸ This change of focus was pointed out by Senatore (2001) 194.

²⁹ Watmough (1997) 77.

narrowed the meaning of *touta* down to a *Stadtgemeinde*, an urban community. Devoto and Camporeale accepted Rosenberg's views regarding the authority of the *meddix tuticus* and therefore of the extension of a *touta*.³¹

Salmon's interpretation of the word *touta* differed significantly from that of Beloch and Rosenberg. He identified Livy's *populi Samnitium* with the tribes of the Pentri, the Caudini, the Carracini and the Hirpini in the central Apennines and argued that each of these *populi* formed a *touta*.³² Salmon also argued that these four tribes formed the so-called Samnite league.³³ This was not a federal state, but a confederation of independent states; the novelty of his thesis was that the *meddix tuticus* was not the leading officer of the federation, but that of each individual state, that is of each *touta*. According to Salmon, ancient sources did not know the exact title of the overall leader of this Samnite league, sometimes calling him *dux* or *imperator*, occasionally *basileus* or *princeps*.³⁴ Salmon also attempted to provide the individual *touta* with an administrative structure. Since there was no tradition of urbanized citizen communities (*civitates*) among the Samnites, a *touta* consisted of a number of *pagi*, an administrative term which was often used among Latin-speaking populations such as the Vestini.³⁵ He also thought it possible that the *meddix* without adjective was the officer of a *pagus* subordinate to the *meddix tuticus*.³⁶

Prosdocimi's definition of the *touta* recalls Rosenberg's argument, although his conclusions were reached by a different route.³⁷ Prosdocimi revisited previous arguments which had noted a relationship between the expressions *touta iguviana* - *touta tadinata* and the *arx* (*ocri/ocar*, citadel) in the *Iguvine Tablets*. He argued that,

³⁰ Zotta (1932) 7.

³¹ Devoto (1967) 215-224; Camporeale (1956) 97.

³² Salmon (1967) 81 on Livy, 9. 22. 2.

³³ Salmon (1967) 95-7.

³⁴ Salmon (1967) 99.

³⁵ Salmon (1967) 79-80.

from the fourth century on, a *touta* was an urban community which had a citadel. Similar *ocri-touta* pairs have been found in several other towns in Oscan-speaking territory of central Italy from the mid sixth century BC, which implies both that they were widespread throughout the whole Italic world and that these communities had comparable public structures.³⁸ Prosdocimi contended that the expression *touta marouca*, attested on the bronze tablet of Rapino, refers to a settlement, identified by Cianfarani with Civita Danzica.³⁹ The Marrucini tribe was called such because it was linked to the *touta marouca*, and so it follows that the *touta marouca* is not identical with the *nomen* of the Marrucini, but must be a single, urban or proto-urban community. As regards the Penna Sant'Andrea inscriptions, Prosdocimi argued that the word *safinim* is an ethnic *nomen*, and that the *touta* is a subdivision of the *nomen* which emerged in the fourth century.⁴⁰

La Regina published ground-breaking studies on the Italic peoples of southern Italy in the 1970s and 1980s, including articles on the settlement pattern, Samnite hill-forts, processes of formation of ethnic identities in the central Apennines, Italic public institutions, and differences in the structure of public institutions between Campania and the central Apennines. His 1981 article was an important step forward in the study of the *touta*.⁴¹ He focused on how the differences in settlement patterns affected the construction of public institutions. In urbanized territories, he argued, especially in Campania under the influence of Greek city-states, a *touta* included only one urban centre and was identical with the *civitas*; the office of the *meddix*

³⁶ Salmon (1967) 87.

³⁷ Prosdocimi (1978) 29-74

³⁸ The bronze tablet of Rapino (ST MV1) has the *touta marouca* and *ocres tarinres* (gen. sing.) on. An *ocreí safina* and *safinas tútas* occur in two inscriptions from Penna Sant'Andrea in South Picentine territory (ST Sp TE 7 and ST Sp TE 5), while another *touta/ocri* pair appears in an inscription from Mendolito, in Sicily. See Prosdocimi (1978) 51.

³⁹ Prosdocimi (1978) 49-50; Cianfarani (1956) 311-327; Cianfarani, Franchi Dell'Orto, La Regina (1978) 521.

⁴⁰ Prosdocimi (1978) 51, 68-9.

tuticus was consequently an urban office. In contrast, in the central Apennines, which lacked large cities, a *touta* coincided with the *nomen*.⁴² Since the extension of the *touta* was tailored to the Campanian urban centres following the Samnite occupation, it seemed logical to suggest that a *touta* was originally a *nomen*, but changed in substance under new circumstances. La Regina's study in the monumental edition of *Italia omnium terrarum parens* sums up his views about the public institutions of the Samnites.⁴³ La Regina extended Salmon's thesis that the four *populi Samnitium* each formed one *touta* by proposing that the four tribes had together originally formed one *touta* before the fourth century BC.⁴⁴ However, from the fourth century BC each of the four *populi* formed its own *touta*, a tribal, national state. This supports his argument of 1981, *contra* Prosdocimi's study, that the *touta* was identical with the *nomen*.

The latest influential study is that of Letta, who criticised La Regina's equation of *touta* with *nomen* or *ethnos*.⁴⁵ Letta, whose views were strongly influenced by Prosdocimi's study of 1978, tried to restrict the meaning of a *touta* to a local community also in the central Apennines.⁴⁶ Letta rejected the existence of a single national state in the central Apennines and argued that the autonomous local communities, the individual *touta*, formed some kind of pan-Samnite entity, *nomen*, what he calls the Samnite League, because the Samnite Wars were waged against the

⁴¹ La Regina (1981) 129-37.

⁴² The idea had already appeared in his publication of (1980) 41.

⁴³ La Regina (1989) 301-432.

⁴⁴ La Regina (1989) 362.

⁴⁵ Letta (1994) 387-405.

⁴⁶ Letta argued that the following pieces of evidence do not fit within the idea of a centralised state: 1. Allifae during the fourth century BC and Aquilonia during the third century BC minted coins, which implies their independence from a national, unitary state. 2. Livy refers to the *ager Aeserninus* under the year 295 BC, years before the establishment of the Roman colony. 3. An inscription (ST Sa 17) from Aufidena attests the office of *meddix tuticus* at a time when the town probably was a *praefectura* and its lands were part of the *ager Romanus*. 4. The ethnic *sai(pinaz)* is attested on a tile stamp from Saepinum. Letta argued that a tile factory in Saepinum could not have produced tiles with the name of the eponymous *meddix tuticus* of the Pentri state.

Samnite *nomen* and not against individual communities. The structure and the functioning of this organization are, however, unknown.

Chapter 2. Highland Samnites

2. 1. Introduction

This chapter aims to reconstruct the political structures of the highland Samnites between the early fourth and first centuries BC by critical examination of the dominant models of Salmon and La Regina. I examine the literary and epigraphic evidence for the existence of a tribal state or states in Samnium, and also the recent archaeological evidence for the hill-forts, the settlement pattern and sanctuaries in the central Apennines. I refer to the inhabitants of this region as highland Samnites to distinguish them from the ethnic Samnites living in Campania and other areas of Southern Italy.

The models of Salmon and La Regina for the political organization of the Samnites are accepted by most scholars. Salmon suggested that the Samnites formed a long-lived, permanent association, the Samnite League, for the purpose of waging wars against outsiders and for other common objectives.⁴⁷ Salmon said that it is not known when the so-called League was formed, but it first appears in Livy's account of a treaty that the Samnites made with the Romans in 354 BC. The League was dissolved at the end of the Samnite wars. For Salmon, the basic units of this League were the Samnite tribal states (see map I). Salmon admitted that ancient sources mention the member tribes of the League only sporadically, fail to localize them and

generally say very little about them. Salmon also argued that the city-state as a form of government did not exist among the Samnites, but their political and administrative unit was a *touta*.⁴⁸ The Latin word *populus* is similar in meaning, but probably the Oscan term had no exact equivalent. Thus for Salmon the *populi Samnitium*, mentioned in two references in Livy, were the tribal states of Carracini, Pentri, Caudini and Hirpini.⁴⁹ A *touta*, argued Salmon, consisted of a number of *pagi*, independent administrative units, which comprised in turn villages (*vici*), citadels (*oppida*, *castella*) and sanctuaries. It is, however, not known how a *touta* developed out of the *pagi*. A *touta* probably had a capital as centre of administration for the whole *touta*. Salmon also argued that each *touta* was headed by a *meddix tuticus*, while the simple *meddices* may have been the chief magistrates of the *pagi*.⁵⁰ The League had a council which the *meddices* were expected to consult.

La Regina developed Salmon's model. He argued that all Samnium formed a single *touta* before the third century BC. Then Rome separated the territories of the Hirpini, Caudini and Carracini from the territory of the Pentri, which became what the Romans recognised as Samnium. Each of the four territories became an independent *touta* with own *meddix tuticus* as its chief magistrate.⁵¹

Letta's criticism of the model of La Regina of a centralised Samnite state has already been mentioned.⁵² Letta, supporting the view that the term *touta* denoted an urban or pre-urban community also in the central Apennines, argued that a number of *toutas* formed a pan-Samnite federation, the Samnite league between the fourth

⁴⁷ Salmon (1967) 41-9; 77-101. On p. 97: 'The association of Samnite tribes at the very last took the form of a permanent military alliance, what the Greeks call *symmarchy*'.

⁴⁸ Salmon (1967) 78.

⁴⁹ Livy 9. 22. 1, 10. 14. 9.

⁵⁰ Salmon (1967) 81 and 87.

⁵¹ La Regina (1989) 362.

⁵² See chapter 1. 2.

century BC and the Social War.⁵³ For Letta, this ethnic league fought the Romans during the Samnite Wars, not the individual Samnite communities. The institutions of the league are, however, unknown and Letta thinks it possible that it was also called *touta* and was represented by the *meddices tutici*. He also believes that the organization may not have had annually elected officials, but that it chose generals in cases of wars.

In his recent publication on the literary evidence for the Samnite league, Senatore takes up a more cautious position.⁵⁴ He argues that it is not possible to conclude at present whether the term *touta* denoted a local (urban or pre-urban) unit or a tribal state.⁵⁵ Senatore supports Salmon's view that the *populi Samnitium* of Livy referred to the four Samnite tribes. The accounts of the Samnite Wars for Senatore suggest that the Samnite tribes and possibly other autonomous communities formed 'la cosiddetta 'lega sannitica', thus rejecting La Regina's view of a centralised Samnite state during these wars. Senatore, similarly to Letta, concludes that the institutions of the Samnite League are unknown.⁵⁶

Our main source of information for the fourth and third centuries BC is the Roman and Greek literary accounts of the so-called Samnite Wars: Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus and Appian. In later centuries the Samnites appear occasionally in ancient sources for their role in the Second Punic War and Social War. For the period between these wars we have limited epigraphic evidence from rural sanctuaries. Archaeological evidence for the settlement pattern runs through the period, but is richest for the second century BC onwards.

⁵³ Letta (1994) 404-5.

⁵⁴ Senatore (2006).

⁵⁵ Senatore (2006) 65.

⁵⁶ Letta (1994) 404.

2. 2. Samnite states in history

2. 2. 1. *Safin*

We have epigraphic evidence for the indigenous use of the ethnic ‘Samnite’ in the Oscan *safin*. Can the people who called themselves *safin* be identified with the peoples that Latin sources call Samnites and the Greeks Saunitai? This problem has already been studied by Dench, whose understanding of the question is accepted by most scholars.⁵⁷ The earliest attestations of *safin* are to be found in two inscriptions from Penna Sant’Andrea and another discovered at nearby Bellante, both in the area of ancient Picenum.⁵⁸ All the three inscriptions date from the fifth century BC. Archaeological and literary evidence are very scarce in this region, which makes it difficult to define the geographical extension of the entity to which the apparent ethnic refers. Dench concluded that during the fifth century BC, the ethnic *safin*-referred to a ‘larger identity’ and should be interpreted in the largest possible sense, as a *nomen* of the ‘Sabini’.⁵⁹ This *nomen*, a self-conscious ethnic community, bound by religious or political relations, consisted of tribes and other subgroups, which gradually broke off from the larger ethnic *safin*-. Among them were the Sabines, conquered by M’. Curius Dentatus in 290 BC. The Latin expression Samnium also derives from the ethnic *safin*-, but this name reached Rome by a different route, probably through the Greek form *Saunitai* via Campania during the conflicts between Rome and the Samnites during the fourth century BC. The term *safin*- was

⁵⁷ Dench (1995) 198-217.

⁵⁸ ST Te 5, 6 and 7.

⁵⁹ Dench (1995) 198-203.

resurrected by the Pentri in second century BC and again in the Social War (see sections 2. 2. 4 and 2. 2. 5).

2. 2. 2. The Samnite Wars

The highland Samnites first appear in the Roman historical record in 354 BC when they are said to have made an alliance with Rome.⁶⁰ This was followed by a long period of hostilities with Rome, traditionally known as the Samnite Wars. The histories of these wars, although written from the perspectives of Greeks and Romans, provide us with a substantial body of topographical data and military events, generally thought to be historically accurate. The seventh to tenth books of Livy offer the most detailed and coherent description of these wars. The histories of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus and Appian often omit basic elements needed for an understanding of the flow of the events. Ancient sources locate the territories of the highland Samnites roughly between the lands of the Campani, Sidicini, Aurunci and Volsci to the west, and those of the Frentani to the east. To the north lay the territories of the Marsi and Paeligni, and to the south those of the Dauni, Apuli and Lucani.

Ancient sources suggest the existence of an ethnically based military alliance among the Samnite populations during the Samnite wars: the triumphal Fasti always mention triumphs over the Samnites and not over one or another people or tribe.⁶¹ Furthermore, three silver oboloi of unknown provenance show the legend SAVNITAN, the Greek name for the Samnites. On the obverse of the coins, a tip of a

⁶⁰ Livy 7. 19. 4 dated to 354 BC, Diod. 16. 45. 8 to 350 BC.

⁶¹ Degrassi (1947) 68-75.

spear (σάυνιον) can be seen at the centre of a laurel crown. On the reverse, next to the legend, the veiled head of a woman appears. Cantilena argued that the legend and iconography of the coins suggest that they were minted at Tarentum for the Samnites, and ancient sources confirm friendly relations between the Samnites and the Tarentines from the first half of the fourth century BC. It is likely that the coins were minted for the allied ethnic Samnite forces possibly during the First or Second Samnite War.⁶² The small number of the coins suggests that they were probably used for the payment of soldiers during the Samnite wars rather than playing a part in economic relations.

Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus very sporadically refer to various Samnite councils during the Samnite wars. Livy mentions a *concilium* on three occasions. Under the year 343 BC, the Campani complained about Samnite incursions into their territory and allegedly surrendered to Rome in order to obtain Rome's protection. The Romans sent legates to the *concilium Samnitium* and asked them to stop devastating the territories of the Campani.⁶³ The *concilium* decided to continue the attacks. This event led to war between Rome and the Samnites, the conflict which is generally called the First Samnite war. Under the year 322 BC, Livy mentions that the Samnites discussed *omnibus conciliis*, in all their councils, who was responsible for the Samnite defeat by the Romans.⁶⁴ They decided that Brutulus Papius had broken the previous truce and that this had led to the disaster. They therefore ordered the praetors to pass a decree to hand Papius over to Rome. In this passage, Livy implies that a number of councils existed. A *concilium* is mentioned under the year 298 BC.⁶⁵ Following complaints of the Lucanians that the Samnites were devastating

⁶² Rutter (2001) 60, nr. 446. Cantilena (1996) 63-5.

⁶³ Livy 7. 31. 11.

⁶⁴ Livy 8. 39. 10.

⁶⁵ Livy 10. 12. 2: '*si quod adissent in Samnio concilium,*'

their country, the Romans decided to form an alliance with the Lucanians and sent fetials to the Samnites. The fetials met Samnite messengers on their way, who warned them that if they went before the *concilium* they would not leave unharmed.

Livy also mentions a *consilium*.⁶⁶ Herennius Pontius, the aged father of Gaius Pontius, is carried to the *consilium* to advise the Samnite leaders about how they should deal with the Romans trapped in the Caudine Forks. Some scholars have argued that there was an institutional difference between the *concilium* and this *consilium*.⁶⁷ They argued that the *concilium* was a general assembly, while the *consilium* was a council with membership restricted to the military leaders. The *consilium*, however, appears only once in Livy. It follows the mention of a *consilium* of the Roman consuls, which suggests that Livy imagined the Samnites to have had a similar institution for their military leaders too. While it is likely that Samnite military leaders took advice, the existence of formal *consilium* may be doubted. Livy also mentions a *coetus Samnitium*.⁶⁸ Spurius Postumius, maker of the Caudine Peace, convinced the Roman senate to surrender him and his fellow soldiers to the Samnites in order to annul their obligation to the treaty. Postumius was taken to the town of Caudium, where he appeared before the *coetus Samnitium* and the tribunal of Pontius. It could have been a meeting of the Samnite commanders rather than of a permanent council.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus twice mentions Samnite councils. In books 17/18, the historian provides us with a partly different picture of the year 298 BC from that given by Livy.⁶⁹ After the Samnite devastation of their territory, the Lucanians

⁶⁶ Livy 9. 3. 9.

⁶⁷ Livy 9. 3. 11: *filius aliique principes*. Gaius Pontius appears as *imperator* and *dux* as it will be mentioned under the 2.5. Social élite and Samnite leaders section. Firpo (1994) 465-6 and Senatore (2006) 37-48.

⁶⁸ Livy 9. 10. 8.

⁶⁹ Dion. Hal. 17/18 1-2.

formed an alliance with the Romans. The Roman senate soon sent ambassadors to the κοινή τῶν Σαυνιτῶν σύνοδος. The κοινή σύνοδος rejected the Roman demands and voted to make necessary preparations for the war κοινῇ τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, both jointly and each city for itself. On another occasion, Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes a diplomatic crisis that broke out between Naples and the Romans in 327 BC.⁷⁰ After having learned that the Samnites were supporting the Neapolitans and were gathering an army, the Romans decided to send ambassadors to the πρόβουλοι τῶν Σαυνιτῶν, councillors and deputies of the Samnites demanding, among other matters, that they stop helping the Neapolitans. The πρόβουλοι, ‘after consulting together’, issued a response to the Romans rejecting their claims and the event led to the so-called Second Samnite war. Dionysius of Halicarnassus goes on to say: ‘When they had departed from the assembly and each side had reported to its cities what had been said, they drew opposite conclusions about each other’.⁷¹ This suggests that the πρόβουλοι were the delegates of cities. They accepted foreign ambassadors and issued a statement to the Romans that led to war. In Firpo’s interpretation, the πρόβουλοι formed a council with membership restricted to the military leaders, to which he compared the *consilium* in Livy.⁷² The reality, however, of Livy’s *consilium* is dubious, and the πρόβουλοι are implicitly the representatives of a number of councils (βόυλαι).

In his account of the Samnite wars, Livy refers to the leaders of Samnite armies as *imperator*⁷³, *dux*,⁷⁴ *magistratus*⁷⁵ and *praetor*⁷⁶, while Festus uses the word

⁷⁰ Dion. Hal. 15. 7. 1.

⁷¹ Dion. Hal. 15. 10. 1.

⁷² Firpo (1994) 466; Livy 9. 3. 8-9.

⁷³ *Imperator* as leader of the Samnite army in Livy: 8. 39. 9, 9. 1. 2, 9. 3. 4, 9. 15. 8, 9. 22. 6 and 9, 9. 44. 13, 10. 29. 16, 10. 31. 12, 10. 38. 7 and 12, Per. 11, Oros 3. 22.

princeps.⁷⁷ The titles *imperator* and *dux* appear to be interchangeable and are both used in the plural, denoting more than one leader.⁷⁸ Livy implies that the appointment of the *imperator* lasted for one year.⁷⁹ The title of *meddix tuticus* is never used for a leader of Samnite forces, whereas it occurs at Capua in a military context.⁸⁰ One possible explanation is that the Samnites elected special magistrates to lead their army, whose office was different from that of the *meddix* or *meddix tuticus*, like the Lucani, who elected a βασιλεύς to lead them in wars.⁸¹ In contrast, at Rome the consuls and praetors were both civic magistrates and military leaders. The other possibility is that the *meddix tuticus* may have been meant by the variant titles of the Latin authors: *praetor* and *magistratus* could well stand for *meddix tuticus*, and Roman consuls and praetors were often called *dux* or *imperator* in military contexts.⁸² The military leaders were probably advised by a council or general assembly, for Livy once says that the *magistratus* were ordered to carry out a levy of the army.⁸³

In the histories of the Samnite wars, the enemies of Rome appear indiscriminately as ‘Samnites’, a vague homogenous ethnic conglomeration which inhabits the central Apennines. In his occasional references, Livy defines the geographical extension of Samnium by mentioning urban communities (see maps I, II and III). Saticula is described as part of Samnium during the First Samnite war and

⁷⁴ *Dux* Livy 7. 32. 4, 9. 1. 2, 9. 15. 9, 9. 22. 11, 10. 20. 13, 10. 21. 2. Florus 1. 11. 16. 10. Oros. 3. 15. 3 and 9.

⁷⁵ *Magistratus* in Livy 7. 31. 11, 8. 23. 2, 10. 13. 3.

⁷⁶ Livy 8. 26. 1: the *praetor* is the commander of the Samnite garrison at Palaeopolis.

⁷⁷ *Princeps* Festus 150 L.

⁷⁸ Herennius Pontius in Livy 9. 1. 2 is referred to both as *imperator* and *dux*. *Imperatores*: Livy 10. 38. 3 and 10. *Duces* Livy 9. 22. 5, 9. 27. 6, 10. 20. 4. Gellius Egnatius *dux Samnitium*: 10. 18.1; 10. 19. 14; 10. 21. 2. *Imperator Samnitium* 10. 29. 16.

⁷⁹ Livy 9. 1. 2: ‘*Samnitium eo anno imperatorem C. Pontium Herenni filium habuerunt*’.

⁸⁰ Livy 23. 35. 13; 24. 19. 2; 26. 6. 13. See also section 3. 2. 5.

⁸¹ Cappelletti (2002) 206 and 210-21 on the basis of Strabo 6. 1. 3.

⁸² Livy 23. 7. 8 and 24. 47. 7.

⁸³ Livy 8. 23. 2.

Nuceria Alfaterna in the Second Samnite War.⁸⁴ As result of this conflict, the Samnites were driven back into the middle Volturnus valley.⁸⁵ After a period of truce, hostilities resumed between the Romans and the Samnites in 327/6 BC. Livy mentions three Samnite defeats in 326 BC in the middle Volturnus valley, near Allifae, Callifae and Rufrium, a territory he here describes as Samnium.⁸⁶ By 315 BC, after a series of battles, the Samnites also seem to have lost their influence in the Liris valley. These towns are not described as belonging to one or another Samnite tribe, but as part of Samnium. In his accounts of the second Samnite War, Livy mentions the names of numerous other Samnite cities and fortifications: Caudium, Malventum, Aquilonia, Bovianum, Saepinum, Aufidena and Aesernia.⁸⁷ He also mentions a number of unidentified fortified centres.⁸⁸

With the withdrawal of Samnite troops from Campania and the transferral of military activities to the central Apennines, the first ethnic division arises in the previously homogeneous ethnic group: Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus mention the Samnite Pentri on account of their wealthy capital, Bovianum.⁸⁹

Following the capture of Bovianum by the consul C. Iunius Bubulcus for the first time in 311 BC, Roman incursions became frequent in this region and Livy from this point confines his use of the word Samnium to the central Apennines.⁹⁰ This is probably also the sense of Samnium in the inscription on the sarcophagus of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, the earliest Latin source for the word, in which he boasts

⁸⁴ Saticula: Livy 7. 32. 2. Nuceria: Livy 9. 41. 3.

⁸⁵ Livy 7. 32-37.

⁸⁶ Livy 8. 25. 4.

⁸⁷ Caudium: Livy 9. 2. 1, 9. 10. 2-6, 9. 11. 13, 9. 12. 9. Malventum: 9. 27. 14, 10. 14. 1. Aquilonia (whose location is uncertain, see section 2. 3. 2 on Hill-forts) 10. 38. 6-10, 10. 41. 11, 10. 42. 5, 10. 43. 9, 10. 44. 2-5. Bovianum: 9. 28. 2, 9. 31. 4, 9. 44. 6-15, 10. 12. 9, 10. 41. 11, 10. 43. 15. Saepinum: 10. 44. 9, 10. 45. 12. Aesernia: 10. 31. 2.

⁸⁸ Cimetra (Livy 10. 14. 6), Murgantia (Livy 10. 17. 3, 10. 17. 11), Romulea (Livy 10. 17. 6, 10. 17. 11), Cesennia (Livy 9. 44. 16), Duronia (Livy 10. 39. 4), Cominium (Livy 10. 39. 5, 10. 43. 9), Taurasia and Cisauna inscribed on the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus.

⁸⁹ Livy 9. 31. 4; Dion. Hal. 17/18. 4. 4.

that he had captured Taurasia, Cisauna (in?) Samnium and the whole of Lucania.⁹¹ Scipio Barbatus, who was consul in 298 BC, probably died about twenty years later, but La Regina has argued that the inscription as we have it was made after the death of his son, L. Cornelius L. f. Cn. n. Scipio, consul of 259, in around 230 BC, although Coarelli dates it to the early second century BC.⁹² Bovianum appears to have been captured twice more by the Romans, and later Aufidena, Aquilonia and Saepinum were also taken.⁹³ A new wave of hostilities arose with the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy. The eventual Samnite defeat was reinforced by the establishment of Roman colonies at Beneventum (268 BC) and Aesernia (263 BC), which involved a loss of land to the Latin colonies and the strengthening of the military presence.

Sources give us very little direct information about the political structure of the highland Samnites. The mention of the Pentri implies that the Samnites had other tribal units as well. Furthermore, Livy occasionally refers to *Samnitium populi*.⁹⁴ Salmon, mentioned above, identified the *Samnitium populi* with the four known Samnite tribes. The word, however, is ambivalent as it can mean both an urban centred community and a larger political unit including several units with urban bases. Thus, the expression *Samnitium populi* could well denote Samnite tribes but also autonomous urban communities. In the accounts of the Samnite Wars, ancient sources provide us with very little information about Samnite tribal units: only the name of the Pentri appears, other tribal names emerge only in the descriptions of later historical events, mainly the Punic Wars, as will be mentioned in section 2. 2. 3.

⁹⁰ Livy 9. 31. 4.

⁹¹ CIL I² 7, p. 377-8. Patterson in his article of (1985a) 185-99 excluded the possibility that the expression *Samnio* in the text was an accusative sing. without the final 'd', thus confirming that the term refers to a region.

⁹² La Regina (1968) 173-5, Coarelli (1972) 89-90.

⁹³ Bovianum: 9. 44. 14 (305 BC); Bovianum and Aquilonia 10. 12. 9 (298 BC); 10. 44. 5 (293 BC); Saepinum 10. 45. 12-14 (293 BC)

⁹⁴ *Populus*: Livy 7. 31. 7, 8. 2. 3, 9. 11. 2. *Populi*: 9. 20. 1, 10. 14. 9.

Nevertheless, it is likely that tribal divisions existed already during the Samnite wars, but nothing is known of their political structure at this time as will be mentioned.

Coinages of a number of Samnite towns, however, suggest that some communities enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. Allifae is known to have produced coins towards the end of the fifth, beginning of fourth centuries BC.⁹⁵ The otherwise unknown Fistelia appears to have had minted didrachms at the beginning and obols at the end of the fourth century BC.⁹⁶ It has been suggested that coins bearing the legend AKUDUNNIAD may have been linked with Aquilonia, whose location is still argued.⁹⁷ Furthermore, coins showing the legend Malies, produced during the Second Samnite War have been related to Samnite Beneventum.⁹⁸

In his description of the crisis of 327 BC that lead to the Second Samnite War, Dionysius of Halicarnassus refers to the Samnites as κοινὸν and τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σαυνιτῶν.⁹⁹ Dionysius uses the expression τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λατίνων when refers to the Latin league.¹⁰⁰ It is difficult to know what Dionysius meant by the term in this passage, as the term κοινὸν has a wide range of meanings, it can denote any kind of association, commonwealth or league. Furthermore, he uses the expression on only one occasion, in reference to the crisis of 327 BC and the term does not appear anywhere else related to the Samnites. Probably Dionysius in face of the lack of information about the political institutions of the Samnites, used a wide term to refer to them. He may also have expected that the Samnites had similar political institutions to the Latins of the same period. Again related to the crisis of 327 BC, Samnite delegates express the chagrin of the *civitas Samnitium*, the Samnite nation,

⁹⁵ Tagliamonte (2000) 59.

⁹⁶ Tagliamone (1997) 131 and 222.

⁹⁷ *Historia Nummorum*³ (2002) 74, nr. 620. For debate on the location of Aquilonia see section 2. 3. 2.

⁹⁸ Cantilena (2000) 84.

⁹⁹ Dion. Hal. 15. 8. 2.

that the Romans had rebuilt the destroyed Fregellae and planted a Latin colony on Samnite land.¹⁰¹ This passage has been interpreted by Salmon as a clear reference to the Samnite league.¹⁰² The expression appears only once in Livy in reference to the Samnites and it is unclear what he meant by it, as this word too has a wide variety of meanings ranging from city-state, union of citizens, commonwealth or tribe.

In conclusion, Livy's accounts of the Samnite Wars, the triumphal Fasti and the oboloi bearing the legend SAVNITAN suggest the existence of an ethnically based military alliance. The scattered references to Samnite councils, *concilium* and *concilia* in Livy suggest the existence of one or perhaps more common deliberative body that acted in military matters. It received international envoys and could declare war. It could investigate the military actions of magistrates and give orders or advice to military leaders and other officials. The κοινή σύνοδος in the excerpts of Dionysius of Halicarnassus receives international envoys and votes to declare wars. Its name and the circumstances described suggest that it was the general assembly. It is plausible, therefore, that both authors are speaking about the same council. Dionysius gives the impression that the general assembly was formed of the representatives of cities. His phrase κοινῇ τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις suggests a federal organization of the Samnite troops, in which the local units were the cities. The leaders occasionally mentioned in Livy appear to have been the generals of the troops of an ethnically based league rather than local political leaders. I would conclude therefore that a Samnite military alliance, what the Greeks call συμμαχία, existed among the Samnites.

¹⁰⁰ Dion. Hal. 5. 52. 2, 5. 54. 5, 5. 61. 1-5 and 5. 76. 2.

¹⁰¹ Livy 8. 23. 6.

¹⁰² Salmon (1967) 95.

The Samnites seem to appear as a politically and militarily homogeneous ethnic population in the accounts of the Samnite Wars; Livy mostly cites towns to denote the location of the Samnites and to mark the movement of Roman troops. A mention of the Pentri tribe and Livy's other references to various Samnite peoples (*Samnitium populi*) make it probable, however, that this ethnic conglomerate was divided into tribal units. It is, however, not clear how these ethnic tribes were formed and what their political institutions were. Coinages that can be related to towns in the area show that several communities enjoyed some degree of autonomy. This may suggest that local urban or pre-urban communities may have been united by federal bonds into tribal units than formed one unitary Samnite state as La Regina suggests during the Samnite Wars. An ethnic Samnite military alliance therefore may have been formed by tribal units and probably autonomous civic communities of Campania, such as Saticula and Nuceria Alfaterna. This is, however, as far as the evidence allows us to go: we have no information about the extension of the individual ethnic units and their political institutions remain obscure.

2. 2. 3. The Second Punic War

In the accounts of the Hannibalic War the names of two further Samnite ethnic communities appear. The Hirpini are said to have joined Hannibal and the Caudini probably also supported the Carthaginians, while the Pentri remained loyal to the Romans.¹⁰³ Ancient sources locate the territory of the Hirpini to the east of

¹⁰³ Livy 22. 61. 11.

Beneventum, in the upper valleys of the rivers Calore and Tammaro.¹⁰⁴ The Caudini lived around their main town, Caudium.¹⁰⁵ A fourth tribe, the Carracini, is mentioned by Zonaras, Tacitus and Pliny the Elder.¹⁰⁶ They probably lived in the valley of the river Sangro and in the surrounding mountains; their main settlements were Iuvanum and Cluviae. In accounts of the Second Punic War the territories of the Hirpini and the Caudini are clearly distinguished from Samnium. After the wars with Hannibal ancient sources tend to apply the name Samnium to the lands and towns around Bovianum, the capital of the Pentri tribe.¹⁰⁷ In 180 BC, the Romans settled 40,000 Ligurians in the *ager Taurasinus*, thereby separating the territories of the Pentri and Hirpini.

The appearance of two further ethnic communities within the Samnite ethnic conglomerate might not be incidental in the Hannibalic Wars. These wars may have been a turning-point in the self-consciousness of the population of this territory.¹⁰⁸ The Pentri tribe could have taken advantage of the position they achieved by remaining loyal to Rome during the wars, promoting and defining themselves as *safin-*, 'true Samnites' against other Samnite populations. A Latin inscription at Aesernia dating from the second century BC confirms that the locals identified themselves as Samnites to distinguish themselves from the colonists.¹⁰⁹ The ethnic

¹⁰⁴ Ancient sources strongly emphasise the distinct characteristics of the Hirpini from the rest of the Samnites: Livy 23. 11. 37, 23. 11. 41, 23. 11. 43, 23. 13. 61, 27. 15; Cic. De divin. 1. 79, De leg. agr. 3. 8, Strabo 5. 4. 12, Sil. Ital. 8. 569, App. B. C. 1. 39. 51, Vell. Pat. 2. 16. 68, Servius ad Aen. 11. 785, Polyb. 3. 91. 9. Their main settlement was Malventum (which the Romans changed to Beneventum) Abellinum, Aeclanum, and Aequum Tuticum (whose name suggest that it was the seat of a council). Compsa is attested on a helmet. The helmet is to be found in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum in Milan. It bears two Oscan inscriptions in Greek script, ST Lu 37: ¹ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲡⲟⲛⲧⲓⲛⲁⲥ ⲕⲁⲙⲡⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲡⲟⲛⲧⲓⲛⲁⲥ ²ⲥⲱⲡ ⲙⲉⲧⲓⲕⲓⲁⲓ ⲡⲟⲓ[-?]. It has been suggested that the inscription refers to a mercenary or allied contingent of Compsa, stationed at Metapontum during the 5th century BC.

¹⁰⁵ Apart from their main settlement the towns of Telesia, Saticula, Caiatia, Trebula and Cubulteria probably also belonged to the Caudini.

¹⁰⁶ Zonaras 8. 7. 1 mentions a rebellion organized by a certain Lollius in 269 BC, Tac. Hist. 4. 5; Pliny. NH. 3. 106.

¹⁰⁷ Livy 22. 13. 1. Hannibal left the territories of the Hirpini and marched into Samnium.

¹⁰⁸ Dench (1995) 210.

¹⁰⁹ CIL I² 3201: Samnites inuolae. See also La Regina (1970-1) 452-3.

safin- appears on a fragmentary *cippus* discovered in Temple A at Pietrabbondante, which dates from the middle of the second century BC.¹¹⁰

2. 2. 4. The Social War

Diodorus gives the fullest picture of the organization of the allies during the Social War.¹¹¹ He lists the ethnic communities and cities that revolted from Rome in 91 BC as ‘the Samnites, the peoples of Asculum, the Lucanians, the Picentines, the people of Nola and other cities and nations’. The allies established Corfinium as their common headquarters, κοινὴ πόλις. They built a *forum*, a council hall, and gathered money, food supplies and provisions for war. They founded a joint council of five hundred members (σύνεδροι), from whom they selected a number of worthy men ‘to rule the country and capable of providing for the common safety’. These men were entrusted with the conduct of war and immediately ordered the election of two ὑπάτους, leaders, consuls, and twelve στρατηγούς, military commanders. Diodorus also names the consuls: the Marsian Quintus Pompaedius Silo, and the Samnite Gaius Aponius Motylus, probably an error for the C. Papius Mutilus given by other sources.¹¹² The territory controlled by the allies was called ‘Italy’, the capital was named ‘Italia’. The two leaders divided the territory between themselves, like the two consuls each with a *provincia*. Diodorus points out that the government that they organized copied ‘for the most part the time-honoured Roman pattern’. Strabo says that Corfinium was the common headquarters and that the allies changed

¹¹⁰ ST Sa 4. See section 2. 4. 3. Other offices.

¹¹¹ Diodorus Siculus 37. 2. 4-8.

¹¹² The name of the Samnite leader appears in Appian BC 1. 42 as Gaius Papius. Later Mutilus, the Samnite general is mentioned (Appian BC 1. 51) and it seems likely that both passages refer to the

the name of the place to Italia. He also tells us that the allies elected ὑπάτους and στρατηγούς and that the *gens* of the leader was Pompaedius.¹¹³

The archaic ethnic *safin-* was employed again during the Social War. Among the bulk of coins produced by the allies to fund their military expenses in the Social War between 90 and 88 BC, we have a handful of silver coins that bear the ethnic *safinim*.¹¹⁴ The iconography of the coins of the allies is partly borrowed from Rome though invested with new meaning but new themes also appear.¹¹⁵ The early coins display the Dioscuri, oath-scenes and a bull trampling a wolf as their reverse types.¹¹⁶ Some of these coins had the legend *Italia* in Latin characters.¹¹⁷ Later issues include coins with the legend Italia in Oscan, *Viteliú*. Other coins give the name of the Samnite general, Gaius Papius Mutilus son of Gaius on the obverse in Oscan script.¹¹⁸ The reverse of this coin type often features a reclining bull and a soldier with a spear and a sword standing next to the bull. Central figures on the coins with Oscan legends are the (mythical) bull, either reclining or trampling the Roman she-wolf and the goddesses Victoria and Italia. Oath-taking scenes or soldiers with swords and spears also appear on the coins. The coins with the Latin legends probably circulated among the northern allies, those with the Oscan legend among the southern members. Within this group, the coins bearing the ethnic *safinim* probably referred to one group of allies. In Diodorus, the Samnites are listed as one

same person, Gaius Papius Mutilus, who also appears on the coins of the allies. See section 2.4 on Social elite.

¹¹³ Strabo 5. 4. 2.

¹¹⁴ Crawford (1964) 148.

¹¹⁵ On links with Roman coins see the article of Crawford (1964).

¹¹⁶ Crawford (1964) 146-8. ST nPg 1a-8.

¹¹⁷ See Rutter (2001) 55-57, nr 406-428. One coin with the legend Italia also shows the name of the Marsic leader as Q. Silo.

¹¹⁸ nPg 6a and 6b The title *embratur* also appears on two types by the name of the commander, Gaius Papius Mutilus. One coin also shows the name of another general, N. Lucius son of Maraeus.

ethnic group and it is likely that we ought to identify them with the *safinim* of the coins.¹¹⁹

Historians debate whether the aim of the Italians at the beginning of the Social War was to gain Roman citizenship or to break away from Rome and create a new state.¹²⁰ The organization of the allies presented by Diodorus and Strabo has been called a ‘saldo ordinamento federale’ (De Sanctis), ‘great league or confederacy’ (Keaveney) or ‘some kind of federal organization’ (Salmon).¹²¹ Mouritsen and Sherwin-White also favour the view of a federal organization, which, they argue, could have been the basis for a future federal state.¹²² The organization of the allies has been variously compared to Hellenistic leagues or seen as a partial imitation of the Roman constitution.¹²³ I believe that this organization was a *συμμαχία*, a military alliance for the purpose of waging war against Rome. The federation established a common council, military officers executing its orders and headquarters. Appian mentions that the allies during the Social War had both ‘common generals’ and ‘city-based generals’.¹²⁴ The organization, however, was immediately divided into two parts, each with its own circulation of coinage, which makes it difficult to see how it could have formed the basis of a common federal political arrangement of the allies after the war.

¹¹⁹ Dench (1995) 214 and (1997) 48–49 suggested that they referred to the *Pentri* as they could not have referred to the whole southern block of the allied forces.

¹²⁰ Sherwin-White (1973) 144–9.

¹²¹ De Sanctis (1976) 39; Keaveney (1987) 121; Salmon (1967) 350.

¹²² Mouritsen (1998) 139, Sherwin-White (1973) 144–9.

¹²³ Meyer (1958) 74–9 argues for the similarities between the organization of the Italians and the Roman constitutions, while Salmon (1967) 350–1 compared it to the Thessalian League.

¹²⁴ Appian *B. C.* 1. 40.

2. 2. 5. Voting tribes and Augustan regions

After the Social war, the territories of the previous Italian *socii* became an organic part of the Roman state. Their major settlements were allotted to already existing Roman voting units. In assigning the new territories to voting districts, the Roman administration occasionally seemed to follow previous ethnic borders.¹²⁵ In the central Apennines the formation of the voting units shows signs of geographically coherent patterns: Bovianum, Aufidena, Terventum, Fagifulae and Saepinum were assigned to the Voltinia voting tribe. Aesernia was assigned to the Tromentina tribe soon after the establishment of the Latin colony there in 263 BC. To the east, the settlements of the Frentani were all attributed to the Arnensis voting tribe, together with the towns of the Carracini, Cluviae and Iuvanum. Larinum, an independent settlement of the Frentani, belonged to the Clustumina tribe. Ligures Corneliani and Baebiani were assigned to the Velina voting tribe. The Caudini were probably allotted as a whole to the Falernia tribe. To the west of the area assigned to the Voltinia tribe, all known settlements belong to the Teretina district, thus marking a clear borderline.¹²⁶ To the north, on the other side of the River Sangrus, the Marsian and Paelignian settlements were put into the same tribe, the Sergia.

One of Augustus' administrative reforms was to overlay the voting tribes with a new system of regions. Samnium lay in the region that Pliny the Elder calls 'the fourth region, which includes the bravest races in Italy'.¹²⁷ It contained the territory of nine ethnic communities: the Frentani, Marrucini, Paeligni, Marsi, Albenses, Aequicolani, Vestini, Samnites and Sabini. Pliny describes the land of the Samnites by listing seven or eight populations or communities: the 'colony of Bovianum Vetus

¹²⁵ Salmon (1967) 43.

¹²⁶ Allifae, Venafrum, Atina, once Samnite, became *praefecturae* after the Pyrrhic War.

and the other Bovianum which bears the name of the Eleventh Legion, the Aufidenates, the Aesernini, the Fagifulani, the Ficolenses, the Saepinates and the Tereventinates'.¹²⁸ The territory of the Samnites corresponds to the area described above as the Voltinia voting district with the inclusion of Aesernia.

In Mommsen's view, Pliny's phrase 'the colony of Bovianum Vetus and the other Bovianum which bears the name of the Eleventh Legion' refers to two different settlements: the first is to be identified with modern Pietrabbondante, the second with Boiano. The colony of Bovianum Vetus, according to this view, should be dated to the late first century BC, while the colony of the XI Legion at Bovianum was founded under Vespasian.¹²⁹ La Regina rejected the claim that there was a colony at Pietrabbondante, and thought that the passage refers to the same settlement at Boiano but in two different periods.¹³⁰ Excavations at the ancient religious centre of Pietrabbondante have revealed that cult activities ceased there soon after the Social War, in the early 80s BC, and that the site was abandoned afterwards.¹³¹ The ancient name of Pietrabbondante is not known. According to Keppie, a settlement at Boiano by the XI Legion could have been set up earlier than Mommsen thought, perhaps under Caesar or after Philippi, and was then upgraded to colonial status, perhaps after Actium.¹³² One of the communities mentioned by Pliny, the Ficolenses, was a settlement close to Rome and belonged to the first region. It is very likely that Pliny included it in his description of the Samnite territory in error.¹³³

The borders of the Augustan regions often followed rivers, which defined larger geographic regions and tribal boundaries. The territory of Samnium lay in the

¹²⁷ Pliny, NH 3. 106: 'regio quarta gentium vel fortissimarum Italiae.'

¹²⁸ Pliny, NH. 3. 107.

¹²⁹ CIL IX. 257, 239.

¹³⁰ Coarelli-La Regina (1990) 162.

¹³¹ La Regina (1966): 260-285; La Regina (1965) Pietrabbondante.

¹³² Keppie (1983) 163.

southernmost part of the fourth region and was bordered by the second region to the south and by the first region to the west. The territories of the Samnite Hirpini and Caudini were assigned to the latter two regions. The fourth region's borders with the first and second regions are identical with those of the voting tribes to the west and south.

2. 2. 6. Conclusions

Livy's account of the Samnite Wars, the triumphal Fasti and the oboloi bearing the legend SAVNITAN suggest the existence of an ethnically based military alliance. Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus incidentally refer to a general assembly or assemblies (*concilium* and κοινή σύνοδος), which was probably a deliberative body or bodies of a Samnite military alliance. Leaders, who occasionally appear in the descriptions of the wars in Livy, seem to have been the generals of Samnite troops during the wars rather than political leaders of Samnite states.

In the accounts of the Samnite Wars, Livy refers to towns rather than tribal groups to describe the territories of the Samnites and to denote the movement of Roman troops. In his references to a general assembly of the Samnite troops, Dionysius of Halicarnassus suggests that this council was formed of representatives of Samnite cities. The Samnite troops also seemed to have been based on cities rather than tribes. The existence of tribal divisions among the Samnites, however, is not to be doubted, but the lack of evidence does not allow us to assess their political structure. Thus, the expression *populi Samnitium* in Livy might refer to various

¹³³ Plin. NH 3. 64.

Samnite tribal groups formed of units with urban bases and autonomous urban communities. It is, however, not explicit in ancient sources that we are dealing with one, long-lived league of cities, underpinned by a permanent structure of assemblies, military leaders and a common army. It can be argued that the Samnites formed occasional alliances in order to carry out military campaigns or in cases of emergency to defend their territories. It can be also argued that Samnite military alliances were formed on a yearly basis (with elected generals, Gaius Papius was an *imperator* of the year 321 BC) and also that the members of the alliances changed from time to time. The arrangements of the troops in the Samnite wars and during the Social War suggest that the Samnites preferred the federal organization of troops to wage wars. The descriptions of these wars, however, are not helpful for understanding the political institutions either of the Samnite territories of the fourth and third centuries BC, or those of the allied forces during the Social War.

The term Samnium was used to denote the lands of the Samnite allies at the time of the Samnite wars. In this ethnic conglomerate, the Pentri make the earliest separate appearance. In the description of the Hannibalic Wars, we learn the names of two further tribes, those of the Hirpini and the Caudini. The Carracini appear in later sources unrelated to the wars. The voting tribes and the Augustan regions show that a number of settlements were treated as one coherent group by the Roman administration in the late Republic: Aufidena, Terventum, Fagifulae, Saepinum, and Bovianum. Since Livy refers to Bovianum as the capital of the Pentri, it is likely therefore that the mentioned towns belonged to this ethnic community. Following the Samnite Wars, the use of the ethnic 'Samnite' seems to have been restricted to this group.

We must, however, ask whether the appearance of tribal divisions within the Samnites was only due to the Romans acquiring better knowledge of the region. It seems that after the Samnite Wars Roman sources took trouble to separate the Hirpini, Caudini and Carracini from the Pentri 'Samnites'. Separate identities were certainly supported or maybe enforced by the Romans in order to prevent alliances similar to those formed during the Samnite wars. I suggest therefore that the ethnic communities of the Hirpini, Caudini, Pentri and the Carracini might have been encouraged to form separate ethnic states after the Samnite Wars. The expression 'tribe' is not entirely satisfactory for its association with barbarian communities without urban centres. In the next section, I focus on the territory of the Pentri which provides us with the largest amount of archaeological and epigraphic evidence for a study of its political institutions.

2. 3. Ancient sites

2. 3. 1. Evidence and models

The importance of archaeology for research on Samnium in the post-third century sense has long been recognized. Salmon's view that, because of the lack of large cities as centres of administration, the Italic populations preferred a system based on territorial units, is generally accepted.¹³⁴ This system today is called, with reference to the Latin-speaking areas, the pagano-vicanic system; Within each territorial unit (*pagus*) features with diverse functions co-existed, such as *oppida*, *castella* and

¹³⁴ See section 2. 1. Introduction.

sanctuaries. This section re-examines Salmon's view in the light of new archaeological data from the region.

Since Salmon's publication of 1967 excavations have been conducted in most known rural sanctuaries and the number of known hill-forts is much greater than it used to be. The 1950s saw a shift in the scope of excavations: a new trend in archaeology, field-walking, drew attention to the remains of the Samnite countryside. Increasingly from the 1970s, studies of several river valleys have located a large number of small villages and scattered farmsteads which seem to have constituted the main feature of the settlement pattern in those areas.¹³⁵ This section examines the relationships between the hill-forts, sanctuaries and settlement pattern as possible evidence for the study of political organisation in Samnium.

Models for relations between the hill-forts and the settlement pattern have been produced for other Oscan-speaking areas, notably the hill-fort of Roccagloriosa and the territory of the Marsi. Archaeological finds in the territory of Roccagloriosa suggest that a Samnite population inhabited the area around Mount Capitenali from the first half of the fifth century BC.¹³⁶ Remains of several buildings have been located on the plateau of the hill. A cemetery in nearby Scala has yielded material probably used at banquets. The richness of these finds associates them with the local elite. In the fourth century BC, polygonal walls were built to enclose an area of about 15 hectares at Roccagloriosa. At the same time, the number of hamlets and farmsteads situated on the hill-side grew. These sites seem to have been dependent on the hill-fort, the only place that yields evidence for the office of *meddix*, documented in a recently found fragmentary bronze tablet.¹³⁷ The tablet has been

¹³⁵ Curti, Dench, Patterson (1996) 170-89.

¹³⁶ Fracchia (2004) 69-83.

¹³⁷ For archaeological and historical circumstances of the tablet see Gualtieri (2000) 243-53. See also Tocco (2000). 224-9. Fracchia (2000) n.21.

dated to the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century BC on the basis of its archaeological context. This particular hill-fort probably served as the centre of local administration in the period. The third century BC brought with it a substantial change in the settlement system in Lucania: fortified centres were abandoned and the *vici* in the neighbourhood seem to have transferred their relations to the colony of Buxentum: an agricultural settlement situated on the plain, near busy roads.

The territory of the Marsi provides us with a slightly different model of relations between the hill-forts and the rest of the settlement system.¹³⁸ The area had a high number of fortifications, the building of which probably started before the fourth century BC. Evidence from the sites of the hill-forts implies that most of them were inhabited before and during the fourth century BC. A study of the hamlets and villages in the area reveals that the earliest date from the end of the third century, but that most of them were probably built during the second century BC. It is therefore probable that before the end of the third century BC the major part of the population lived in and around the fortifications. They descended to cultivate their lands in the plain; the necropoleis situated on the plains suggest that they also buried their dead there. The villages do not seem to have been centred on large hill-forts. Letta argued that these villages were probably built during the period of political stability that followed the treaty in 302 BC between the Marsi and Rome. It is not surprising that the villages depended on the municipal centres supported by Rome rather than the hill-forts. The only place that has yielded evidence for the office of *meddix* among the Marsi is the hill-fort of Antinum.¹³⁹ The site later became a seat of a municipium itself. It is particularly interesting that the hill-forts of the Marsi continued to be

¹³⁸ Letta (1988) 217-33.

¹³⁹ ST VM 3, Bo 32, Pi 56, SE 42 (1974) 358.

inhabited, in contrast with evidence for the abandonment of sites in Lucania such as Roccagloriosa in the same period.

It cannot be accidental that in both cases, at Roccagloriosa and in the territory of the Marsi, it is the hill-forts that provide evidence for the presence of the *meddix*. In the case of the Roccagloriosa inscription, the reference dates from the period before Roman influence. At Antinum the situation is different, because the only inscription we have makes it clear that the *meddix* is a lower rank magistrate, since the *cetur* (probably *censor* or *quaestor*) seems to be the eponymous magistrate.¹⁴⁰ It is possible that the office of the *meddix* had lost power to the *censor* after the Marsi became Roman allies. Nevertheless, the hill-forts suggest that in these Oscan-speaking areas there was a close relation between the hill-forts and the office of *meddix*, at least before the Roman conquest.

2. 3. 2. Hill forts of the Samnites

In his descriptions of the Samnite wars, Livy often uses expressions such as *oppida*, *moenia*, and *castella* to denote enemy centres. Aquilonia and Bovianum appear as *oppida*, as do Allifae, Callifae, and Rufrium.¹⁴¹ L. Volumnius attacked three *castella* in Samnium in the year 296 BC.¹⁴² Appian tells us that there were three citadels (ἄκραι) around Bovianum at the time of the Social War.¹⁴³ In Latin, the expression *oppidum* generally refers to a settlement including public and private buildings within its fortified walls, whereas the word *castellum* simply denotes a fortification, without any implication for its political or public life. The description of the Samnite

¹⁴⁰ See Letta (1975) 194-6.

¹⁴¹ Livy 10. 44. 1; 9. 31. 5; 8. 25. 4.

¹⁴² Livy 10. 18. 8.

¹⁴³ App. B.C. 1. 51.

heartland as being heavily fortified is confirmed by the remains of massive polygonal walls, a distinctive archaeological feature of the central Apennines.

The study of the hill-forts in their relation to the settlement system of Samnium, is, however, hindered by several difficulties, posed particularly by the nature of the hill-forts themselves (see map II). A major problem is that the polygonal walls themselves cannot be dated.¹⁴⁴ Lugli defined four types of wall according to their level of elaboration, but the styles cannot be firmly connected to dates.¹⁴⁵ Associated archaeological finds can help the dating of walls. Serious concerns have been raised about the precision and reliability of dating based on pottery.¹⁴⁶ On Oakley's model, the oldest walls are to be dated to the late seventh or early sixth centuries BC.¹⁴⁷ The main period of fortification-building was the late fifth and fourth centuries BC, but it is probable that a significant number of building programmes was carried out in the third century BC. Conta Haller's thesis that the main reason for building was the Samnite Wars is not universally accepted.¹⁴⁸ In later centuries some of the walls were restored, and others enlarged and probably re-used during the Punic and Social Wars; the latest examples date from the first century BC. Another problem is the diversity of the hill-forts. Often more than one style of masonry was used at the same site, and the area included within the fortifications also differs greatly from site to site.

It is generally agreed that the purpose of the walls was primarily to defend those who lived both inside and outside them.¹⁴⁹ This is confirmed by the fact that almost all settlements in Samnium that became *municipia* after the Social War had

¹⁴⁴ Oakley (1995) 129.

¹⁴⁵ Lugli (1957) vol. 1, 51-165.

¹⁴⁶ Oakley (1995) 135-8.

¹⁴⁷ Oakley (1995) 138.

¹⁴⁸ Conta Haller (1978). Gabba (1979) 171-2.



hill-forts in their vicinity. It is also argued that fortifications formed articulated systems to control strategically important passes.¹⁵⁰ Others have suggested that networks of fortifications were used to exercise control over larger areas, a claim that Oakley strongly rejects.¹⁵¹ Instead, he emphasises the importance of hill-forts as focal points of refuge for local communities. Some of the hill-forts were built at intermediate height, as on the Matese Mountains, and could have connected fertile lowlands with the upland pasture in the summer months, thus playing an important part in 'vertical transhumance'.¹⁵² La Regina identified a net of fortifications formed by the forts of Santa Maria of Vignali (Pescolanciano), Colle d'Onofrio (Chiauci), Civitanova del Sannio, and Duronia to which we can also add that of Castropignano, along a line of communication that became the Castel di Sangro–Lucera transhumance trail.¹⁵³

More important for this study is that the six Samnite hill-forts, which have been excavated at least in part, all show signs of habitation. These are Monte Vairano, Curino (Alfedena), Rocca di Oratino, Monte Pallano, Monte Terravecchia (Sepino), and Santa Croce (Villa Santa Croce). Finds at Monte Vairano clearly reveal that it was inhabited permanently between the fourth and the first centuries BC. Mariani seems to suggest that the Curino site may have been occupied in the seventh and sixth centuries at the same time as use of the necropolis of Campo Consolino.

¹⁴⁹ La Regina (1975) 271-82; Conta Haller (1978); Mattiocco (1981); Gualtieri (1987) 30-46; Oakley (1995) *passim*.

¹⁵⁰ Caiazza (1995) 30; Oakley (1995) 139 identified links between Monte Auro, Colle Vrecciale and Castello Monteforte. Rainini (1996) identified a looser network of fortifications in the area of Capracotta, around the valley of the Verrino, made up by Fonte del Romito, Monte San Nicola and Fonte San Lorenzo, a corresponding system on the opposite side of the Verrino of Capracotta, Monte Cavallerizzo and Monte Saraceno (Pietrabbondante).

¹⁵¹ Oakley (1995) 139-40.

¹⁵² Oakley (1995) 146 lists Boiano with three forts, Campochiaro with two, Colle di Rocco (Guardiaregia), Terravecchia (Sepino), Morcone, Rocca od Monte Cigno (Cerreto Sannita), Teleso with four centres, Alife with two forts, Roccavecchia of Pratella, Monte Castellone (Torcino), Mandra Castellone (Capriati al Volturno), Civitella and Castello Riportso.

¹⁵³ La Regina (1975) 275.

Remains of buildings and associated pottery finds suggest that the site was certainly inhabited during the third and second centuries BC.¹⁵⁴ A small excavation has recovered enough material, mainly pottery, to show that the site of Rocca di Oratino was occupied from the fourth to the second centuries BC.¹⁵⁵ Monte Pallano also shows signs of occupation; its walls were built during the fourth and third centuries BC and the site was inhabited well into the imperial period.¹⁵⁶ Terravecchia and Monte Santa Croce were also inhabited, but have not yielded enough material for us to assess when this occurred. In fact, field walking of the other fortifications found that most of these showed some sign of habitation, such as pottery and tiles. But, uncertainties about the dating of the polygonal walls and pottery-remains do not allow us to establish when and for how long an individual site was inhabited, or which sites were inhabited at a particular time.¹⁵⁷

Many hill-forts were either too small or their location was unfavourable, which makes it unlikely that they were inhabited permanently or at all. Still, several excavated sites have produced evidence for the co-existence of buildings of diverse functions, architectural elements, and use of space, all of which are usually

¹⁵⁴ Mariani (1901) 235. Mariani (1901) 268- The first excavations in Campo Consolino were begun by De Nino in 1876, and the results were published in the *Notizie degli Scavi* (1877) 276; (1879) 320-334; (1882) 68; (1885) 344. The finds from the territory around Aufidena formed the basis of the collection of Museo Civico di Aufidena. L. Mariani was appointed to study the material of the Museum and to continue the excavations in 1897. Following the excavations, a study was published in *Monumenti Antichi* in 1901 and then 'Dei recenti scavi' in Aufidena in *Atti del congresso internazionale di scienze storiche*, 12 vols. V. (1904) 243-53. In the second half of the 1970s the excavations were begun again and the first publication of the material can be found in *Notizie degli scavi* (1975) 409-81. Later Badoni and Giove re-published the findings as *Alfedena, La Necropoli di Campo Consolino*, Chieti, 1980. 1700 of the 12.600 tombs were excavated and analysed.

¹⁵⁵ Oakley (1995) 116-7.

¹⁵⁶ Colonna (1955) 177 and (1956) 214, Pellegrino (1980) 349-65. The community living in Monte Pallano also produced coins with the legend PALAGINU (see in Head (1913) 29).

¹⁵⁷ Although several criteria have been used to identify sites which might have been inhabited for longer periods, these efforts still do not yield a useful list of fortifications. One criterion is the separation of those fortifications in which an inner circuit marked off an acropolis within the outer circuit of the walls: Guadagno (1978 -9) 273-5 argued that it was more likely that the site was inhabited. This method, however, does not seem to accommodate all the evidence, because those fortifications which have only one wall circuit were left out of the list. Another, perhaps more useful criterion is the size of the fortification. La Regina (1975) 279. suggests that Monte Vairano (Busso),

associated with urban planning and fit nicely with the idea of a Roman *oppidum*. For example, traces of a modest residential district have been found within the walled area of Curino. One particular building shows signs that point to public use: it was provided with a frontal portico with wooden columns, cisterns and a semicircular podium.¹⁵⁸ La Regina called it a *basilica*. Associated pottery finds suggest that it was built in the third century BC.¹⁵⁹ Near this building, the remains of a small temple have been found. The temple, with its simple plan and Doric stone columns, has been dated to the third century BC, but it continued in use until the imperial period.

The site of Monte Vairano was relatively large: its impressive polygonal walls surrounded an area of 49 hectares. It was accessible through three gates: the south gate, the west gate, and the so-called Victoria gate. At the Victoria gate remains of two towers can be seen. Private houses were built in stone along the paved street that leads in from the south gate. One of these has been named the 'house of 'LN" on the basis of the Oscan graffiti on pottery found on the site. The finds include several cups, two large barrels, dishes, loom-weights, a mortar, lanterns and styli. The material remains of this house give the impression of a well-equipped household not inferior to parallels in Roman or other Italic areas. In the centre of this hill-fort traces of another stone building and of a well have been found. The excavators also discovered three kilns, one inside the wall next to the Victoria gate, and two others located just outside the walls.¹⁶⁰ There are another two buildings, whose function cannot be identified, although one of them shows similarities to a building in the sacred area of Vastogirardi.¹⁶¹ Around a hundred fragments of Rhodian amphorae

Curino and Monte Civitalta (Alfedena), Castellone/Civitella (Frosolone), Terravecchia (Saepinum) and Monte Verrante were of suitable size for permanent occupation.

¹⁵⁸ Mariani (1902) 518.

¹⁵⁹ Cianfarani, Franchi dell'Orto, La Regina (1978) 319. La Regina (1976) 223.

¹⁶⁰ De Benedittis (1990) 116. De Benedittis (1980) 337-41.

¹⁶¹ De Benedittis (1991a) 129.

were scattered over the area of the hill-fort.¹⁶² Many have stamps, and can be dated to the third and second centuries BC.¹⁶³ In his account of the Second Punic War, and particularly of events in the year 293 BC, Livy often mentions the otherwise unknown city of Aquilonia. He implies that it was close to Bovianum, which prompted La Regina to identify the city with the site of Monte Vairano. His argument is accepted by most scholars, although Oakley argued that other sites such as another Aquilonia, in the territory of the Hirpini, must be taken into consideration as possible candidates for the city.¹⁶⁴

One of the aims of the Sangro Valley Project, which is still ongoing, is to explore the area surrounded by the polygonal walls on Monte Pallano, and to clarify the role of this hill-fort and sanctuary, which dominates the lower valley of the river Sangro.¹⁶⁵ This fort is suspected to have played a central role in the political, administrative, economic and religious life of the region.¹⁶⁶ It is particularly interesting that it is positioned on the border of three ethnic communities, those of the Marrucini, the Samnite Carracini and the Frentani. Excavations carried out by teams from Oberlin College and Oxford University since 1999 have discovered the *temenos* of a late-Hellenistic sanctuary of unexpected wealth and sophistication. The walls were probably built in the second century BC.

¹⁶² De Benedittis, (1991b) 140.

¹⁶³ Bevilacqua (1980) 21-34. The names are: Arkhidamos, Diodotos, Sokrates, Damon, Aristopolis, Eukleitos, Aphrosodios, Glaukas, Doros?, Philokrates, Musaios, Metro-or Menodoros, Timokleidas.

¹⁶⁴ For arguments see La Regina (1989) 401-23, De Benedittis (1980) and (1987) 15. Oakley (1995) 149-51. Coins with the legend AKVDVNNIAD dating to the first half of the third century BC have attributed to Aquilonia, although evidence is meagre to support this view. See further *Historia Nummorum*³ (2002) 74, nr. 620.

¹⁶⁵ For latest information on the Project see http://www.sangro.org/reports/res_des.pdf

¹⁶⁶ Faustoferri-Lloyd (1998) 5-22.

2. 3. 3. Settlement patterns

The ancient Greek and Roman sources do not provide us with a coherent picture of the settlement system of the central Apennines, but imply in incidental references that the general pattern of settlement was based on villages. Appian mentions the destruction of eighty-one villages as result of the wars with Rome in 322 BC.¹⁶⁷ When he comments that the Samnites lived in scattered villages (*vicatim*), Livy describes the peoples of the central Apennines as ‘uncouth mountain-dwellers’.¹⁶⁸

The prevalence of scattered farmsteads and small villages in the settlement pattern of Samnium after the Samnite Wars is confirmed by archaeology. Evidence for this comes from the Biferno Valley Project conducted by Barker and others in the 1970s, which looked at several sections of that river valley, which runs from the Samnite heart-land down into the Adriatic Sea, through the territories of the Pentri and the Frentani.¹⁶⁹ The survey found that the number of farmsteads and hamlets located in well watered areas of the upper valleys increased considerably in the period between 350 and 80 BC.¹⁷⁰ Barker also found evidence for at least two villages, one at San Martino, near Campochiaro, and one near Colle Sparanise.

The Sangro Valley Project was begun in 1994 to study the changes in economy, society, and settlement pattern of this valley.¹⁷¹ It focused on the predominantly pastoral zone between Opi and Villetta Barrea in the Upper Valley,

¹⁶⁷ Appian Samn. 4.1

¹⁶⁸ Livy 9. 13. 7. ‘montani atque agrestes’. Dench (1995) 21 and 114-5 suggested that Livy followed the tradition of ‘geographical determinism’ which categorises the character of the inhabitants of a particular territory according to their environment. Saying that the Samnites lived in villages is part of the standard picture of the ‘rough highlanders’ or barbarians, as opposed to the city-dwellers. This approach is used ideologically by Hellenistic authors in order to justify the conquest of other peoples.

¹⁶⁹ Barker (1981).

¹⁷⁰ Barker (1981) 181-8.

¹⁷¹ The Project is a joint programme of the Archaeological Soprintendenze of Abruzzo and Molise, the Universities of Oxford and Leicester and Oberlin College, United States.

the hill fort of Monte Pallano in the middle valley, and Fara in the floodplain. However, no information about settlement pattern has yet been published.

The San Vincenzo Project was initiated by the University of Sheffield with the intention of studying the early medieval abbey of San Vincenzo and its hinterland, but the scope of the research has been extended to include also the study of finds of Republican and imperial date.¹⁷² The project focused on the Rocchetta plain, Scapoli, Valle Porcina, Castelvechio and Salvone, and has identified a handful of ancient sites.¹⁷³ The most important of these was the site of the medieval abbey on the Rocchetta Plain. Excavations in the area of the abbey found a Roman villa-complex, and revealed foundations of walls under the villa, which together with black glazed pottery suggest that the abbey was preceded by an extensive site of Republican date.¹⁷⁴ Patterson has identified this site as a village which exploited the arable land of the Rocchetta plain and the vicinity of transhumance trails. He also argued that the lands of the ancient settlement formed part of the territory of Aesernia rather than Aufidena or Venafrum.¹⁷⁵

A survey conducted by Di Niro in the Tappino valley has revealed that the agricultural terracing had begun already in the Samnite period.¹⁷⁶ Traces of a great number of farms and hamlets were found in the region. A relatively large house was discovered at Cercemaggiore (loc. Pesco Morelli), which appears, on the basis of finds at the necropolis of Morgia della Chiusa, to have been occupied in the period between the late fifth and the end of the second centuries BC. The areas around Cercemaggiore and Gildone also show traces of small settlements. Excavations also shed light on a farmstead near Matrice, which dates from the late third to the early

¹⁷² Hodges-Mitchell (1985).

¹⁷³ Patterson (1985) 213-26, especially p. 218-21.

¹⁷⁴ Patterson (1985) 219.

¹⁷⁵ Patterson (1985) 216-8.

second centuries and was enlarged in the first century BC.¹⁷⁷ Capini draws attention to two settlements, one outside the walls of the hill-forts at Monte San Paolo, inhabited during the third and second centuries BC, and another near Ponte San Mauro.¹⁷⁸ Traces of a village were found in the vicinity of Fonte del Romito (Capracotta), which was inhabited from the 9th century BC, although the archaeological material increases during the fourth and third centuries BC, when the settlement was reorganized and enlarged.¹⁷⁹ The late second century BC saw an important change in the plan of this settlement, with the buildings being rebuilt around an open space.¹⁸⁰

Most of the farmsteads mentioned above were built of stone in the peaceful period following the Samnite Wars, when the population increasingly tended to settle near the land they cultivated. We can conclude that the number of villages and farmsteads grew considerably after the Samnite Wars. Letta and Fracchia, as noted above, have already identified an analogous tendency in the area of the Marsi and around the fortified centre of Roccagloriosa.¹⁸¹

The ancient literary record also relates the existence of urban or pre-urban settlements in the region. Under the year 296 BC Livy mentions that the Roman general P. Decius, having learned that the enemy had fled after a series of defeats, decided to lay waste to cities and fortifications rather than wandering around the villages (*vicatim*) of Samnium.¹⁸² Strabo noted that many *poleis* in Samnium had become mere villages by his time, thus emphasizing the earlier existence of cities in

¹⁷⁶ A. Di Niro (1991) 121-6.

¹⁷⁷ Lloyd-Rathbone (1984) 216-9.

¹⁷⁸ Capini (2000) 260.

¹⁷⁹ Rainini (1996) 52-194.

¹⁸⁰ Rainini (1996) 193-4.

¹⁸¹ See introduction to section 2. 2. on Ancient sites.

¹⁸² Livy 10. 17. 2: 'Quin urbes et moenia adgredimur?'

the region.¹⁸³ Livy uses the term *urbs* in relation to two places, Bovianum and Saepinum, in the late fourth to early third century.¹⁸⁴ According to Livy, both cities were occupied by the Romans after long, exhausting sieges. It is difficult to determine what he meant by *urbs* in a Samnite context, especially since his usage is not consistent. A Graeco-Roman city was generally characterized by the presence of some of the following features: city wall, defined streets, public buildings including temples, porticoes and baths, and solid private houses.¹⁸⁵ The use of the word *urbs* is more natural in the case of Bovianum, because of its status in Livy as the capital and the richest city of Samnium, well fortified and populous. Appian, apart from calling Bovianum a *polis*, tells us that it was the seat of a rebel council in the Social War.¹⁸⁶ At present we have no archaeological evidence for fourth/third century urbanization at Bovianum or Saepinum.

The emergence of urban centres in Samnium was until recently usually linked to the impact of Rome in the region. The accepted view was that the prospect of becoming *municipia* after the Social War prompted the settlements of Aufidena, Terventum, Fagifulae, Bovianum, and Saepinum to develop into urban centres. However, scholars have recently found evidence that the first signs of urban development are visible in almost all of these settlements well before the Social War. Larinum probably had a regular city-plan in the third century BC.¹⁸⁷ The fort at Terravecchia reveals signs of inhabitation, and Colonna has suggested that this was actually the settlement besieged by the Romans in 293 BC during the Samnite Wars. It is usually thought that after the hill-fort was destroyed by the Romans its

¹⁸³ Strabo 5. 4. 11. Dench (1995) 133-4 notes that Strabo's emphasis on the reduction of important Samnite cities to mere villages was part of a post-Sullan ideology which tried to justify Sulla's acts in the region. The archaeological records of Saepinum seem to contradict Strabo's description of the Samnium of his time.

¹⁸⁴ Livy 9. 44. 14; 10. 45. 12-14.

¹⁸⁵ Poccetti (1988) 318.

population moved to the plain where Roman Saepinum later developed.¹⁸⁸ Excavations have now revealed fine private houses and a fullery of the later second century alongside the imperial forum of Saepinum and their location implies that the forum and the main street with its associated drain, had already been laid out.¹⁸⁹ The Romans founded colony at Aesernia in 263 BC.¹⁹⁰ Aufidena probably became a *praefectura* after the Samnite wars. These settlements may have attracted Samnite settlers, since Livy claims that 4,000 Samnite and Paelignian families had moved to the Latin colony of Fregellae by 177 BC.¹⁹¹ Second-century BC Samnium enjoyed a more sophisticated lifestyle than has been previously presumed as the numerous fragments of fine wares and wine amphorae at Monte Vairano attest.¹⁹² Bovianum, the centre of local pottery production, also shows scattered signs of urbanization.¹⁹³ La Regina emphasised that the choice of locations which became *municipia* in Samnium after the Social War was not arbitrary, but was influenced by pre-existing urban development at the sites.¹⁹⁴

Most of the future *municipia* were located near lines of communication that crossed Samnium, which were used as transhumance trails through to late Roman times (see map II). The early development of Bovianum and Saepinum was probably encouraged by the Pescasseroli-Candela trail. Aesernia lay between the rivers Carpino and Sordo, at the meeting point of important lines of communication leading south to Bovianum, west to Campania and the Liris valley, and north to Aufidena

¹⁸⁶ App. Bell. Civ. 1. 51.

¹⁸⁷ Dench (1995) 134.

¹⁸⁸ La Regina (1970) 198-200.

¹⁸⁹ Matteini Chiari (1982) 15-9.

¹⁹⁰ The Latin colony of Aesernia produced its own coinage in the twenty years or so after its foundation. For the coins see Rutter (2001) 58, nos. 429, 430 and 431.

¹⁹¹ Livy 41. 8. 8.

¹⁹² See 2. 3. 2. Hill-forts

¹⁹³ The names of Bovianum and Saepinum may indicate a connection with cattle raising. The name of Bovianum is connected to cattle, Latin *bos* (cow), while the name of Saepinum is conventionally related to the verb *saepio*, to mark off an area with hedge or fence.

and the Sangro valley. Aufidena was located on trails that led from the territories of the Marsi and Paeligni towards the heart of Samnium. In certain parts of Samnium the fertile river valleys may have constituted lines of communication, as well as providing agricultural land. These factors must have influenced the location of Fagifulae in the Biferno valley, and Terventum in the valley of the Trigno.

The links of these settlements to hill-forts must also be emphasised. There is a strong relation between forts, the settlement system and communication lines. The presence of hill-forts can be observed in the vicinity of almost all future *municipia*. Near Bovianum we find Monte Crocella, Civita Superiore, Civitella, and Tre Torrette.¹⁹⁵ Aesernia too has its forts which, with three circuits of polygonal walls, lay on the slopes of the nearby La Romana.¹⁹⁶ The site was organised on two different levels.¹⁹⁷ The forts near Aesernia at Longano and Montelungo could have also formed part of this defensive system.¹⁹⁸ Terravecchia is often called the *arx* of Saepinum. This fortification was situated on the slope of the hill at different levels and recalls the defence system of Aesernia. Around Alfedena, the fortifications of Curino and Monte Civitalta are particularly important. Near Venafrum, we find Monte Cavallerizzo and Monte Santa Croce. Areas with a higher number of forts were probably more densely populated, like the hills south of today's Campobasso with their numerous fortifications: Monte Vairano (Busso), Rocca di Monteverde (Vinchiaturo), Ferrazzano, Monte Sant'Antonio, Montagna di Gildone and Monte Saraceno (Cercemaggiore).

¹⁹⁴ La Regina (1970) 191-207.

¹⁹⁵ Oakley (1995) 107-112.

¹⁹⁶ Capini (1984a) 194-5; Capini (1984) 449-50.

¹⁹⁷ Livy and Diodorus Siculus refer to three battles against the Samnites here in 305 BC. Livy 9. 44. 16 says that the Romans won back Sora, Arpinum and Cesennia. Diodorus Siculus 20. 90 speaks of the re-capture of Sora, Harpina and Serennia. It is normally assumed that Cesennia and Serennia are the same settlement; perhaps they are references to Samnite Aesernia. It is possible that Aesernia was in Roman hands by that time, since Livy 10. 31.2 mentions Samnite raids on the territory of Aesernia in 295.

In his article of 1970, La Regina argued that urbanized settlement began to appear among the Italic populations as centres of administration from the third century BC. When a new urban settlement was formed within the territory of a community, it probably developed on top of a previously inhabited settlement, bearing in mind the favourable conditions of the location for communication and future development. La Regina argued that urbanization was part of Romanization in the region. However, it is clear that those settlements which became *municipia* after the Social War had begun to acquire urban features during the second century. Some fortified centres apparently had public buildings and consequently may have played a significant role in the administrative system. Curino and Monte Vairano probably did not become *municipia* subsequently because their mountaintop location was unsuitable for urban centres on the Roman model.

2. 3. 4. Sanctuaries

The rural sanctuaries are probably the best-attested and most informative features of Samnite culture. Their importance is reinforced by the fact that we know little about pre-Roman settlements. Extra-urban sanctuaries have been discovered at Pietrabbondante, Campochiaro, Schiavi d'Abruzzo, Vastogirardi, S. Giovanni in Galdo, Gildone, S. Pietro Avellana, Macchia Valfortore and Quadri. It has been suggested that public and private wealth was spent on the building and restoration of rural sanctuaries rather than urban public (and military) buildings or private housing.¹⁹⁹ The sanctuaries have attracted more modern attention than other sites in

¹⁹⁸ Terzani-Matteini Chiari (1997) 13.

¹⁹⁹ Patterson (1991) 151.

Samnium, partly because the visible remains of temples were more promising, partly because the epigraphic evidence found in the sacred areas allowed scholars to study several different aspects of Samnite history. The temples usually follow the building style of the so-called Italic temples (elevated podium, a single *cella*, an altar in front of the building, and a row of steps leading up to the *podium*), but they also show Hellenistic features (e. g. proportions of plan, size and decoration, and association with the theatre at Pietrabbondante).

We can identify three particular periods of building and embellishment of sacred buildings in Samnium. Dench argues that these three periods of building activity do not coincide with periods of prosperity.²⁰⁰ Evidence for building activity within sacred areas has been noted from the fifth century BC, but the earliest evidence for building on a monumental scale dates from the second half of the third century BC, when the so-called Ionic temple at Pietrabbondante and the modest temple at Curino were built, both with similar colonnades.²⁰¹ This building phase was interrupted by the Second Punic War, which was probably responsible for the destruction of the Ionic temple at Pietrabbondante, because the Pentri, according to Livy, remained loyal to Rome.²⁰²

Pentrian prosperity after the Second Punic War led to a second and larger wave of the building of sanctuaries. Although the sanctuary of Civitella near Campochiaro was in use from the fourth century BC, it underwent a major restoration in the early second century BC. The sacred area was divided into two parts by a long portico. The temple was located on a higher level to the west of the portico so the portico served as its entrance-hall.²⁰³ The sanctuary is thought to be the *fanum Herculis Rani*

²⁰⁰ Dench (1995) 136-140.

²⁰¹ La Regina (1976) 226.

²⁰² Livy 22. 61. 11.

²⁰³ Capini (1991) 117.

mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.²⁰⁴ This kind of monumental reorganisation of a site on different levels has Hellenistic precedents, notably at Pergamum. Traces of two temples were found at Colle della Torre (a few kilometres from modern Schiavi d'Abruzzo), the older of which was probably built at the same time as the development of the sacred area of Civitella of Campochiaro. It seems that the second temple at Pietrabbondante, traditionally called Temple A, was built at this time, and the older temple of Schiavi d'Abruzzo as well. Similarities have been detected between the capitals of these two temples.²⁰⁵ The podium of a Samnite temple at Quadri survives because the church of the Madonna dello Spineto was built on it in medieval times.²⁰⁶ The outer section of the podium is almost identical to that of the older temple at Schiavi d'Abruzzo, which allows us to date the two temples to the same period. The small temple of Macchia Valfortore can also be dated with some certainty to the first half of the second century BC.

The building of these temples was probably provided for mainly by public funds as the numerous inscriptions that mention Oscan officials and councils confirm, but it is also likely that considerable financial aid came from wealthy locals. Epigraphic evidence suggests that the Samnites took advantage of the business opportunities opened up by the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean. Numerous Oscan names, most assumed to be Campanians, but probably from the Pentri and other Samnite peoples too, appear on the Greek mainland, the Cyclades and in Asia Minor.²⁰⁷ Spain, North Italy and Egypt also yield evidence for Samnite businessmen. Probably some of this wealth was used to fund the building of sanctuaries in central Italy.

²⁰⁴ On the identification of the sanctuary with that of Hercules Rani see La Regina (1989) 364-72.

²⁰⁵ La Regina (1976) 230.

²⁰⁶ Cianfarani, Franchi dell'Orto, La Regina (1978) 499.

²⁰⁷ Hatzfeld (1919) 17-30.

Another surge in building activity within sanctuaries can be seen at the end of the second and beginning of the first century BC in the decades before the outbreak of the Social War. The so-called Temple B, with a theatre in front of it, was built in this period at Pietrabbondante. By the end of the second century BC, the Ionic temple had totally disappeared from the sanctuary and its remains were incorporated into the podium of Temple B.²⁰⁸ The theatre occupies the sacred area of the old Ionic temple. It is plausible that there was another temple behind Temple A, which was demolished later. The smaller temple in the Schiavi d'Abruzzo sanctuary probably dates to the turn of the century. Lapenna concludes that its architectural decoration in terracotta imitates that of Pietrabbondante temple B (frieze with Doric triglyphs and metopes with head of an ox).²⁰⁹ The sanctuary had a pavement made of small red stones. The pottery remains suggest that the temple of Vastogirardi was built in the late second century BC. Its decoration also shows similarities to that of Temple B at Pietrabbondante.²¹⁰ The red stones of the floor with white decoration in the small temple of San Giovanni in Galdo recall the later temple of Schiavi d'Abruzzo and help to date the temple to the second half of the second century BC.²¹¹ The rubbish dump behind the temple confirms this date: it contains votive objects, mainly pottery from the late second to early first century BC. Coins have also been found in the sacred area.²¹² These date from the third and second centuries BC; the latest coin is from 104 BC. In the case of a small number of other sites where votive material or part of the podium has been found, it can be only said that they were sacred sites. These are Roccapromonte, Carovilli (loc. Monte Ferrante), San Buono (loc. Fonte San Nicola), Villalfonsina (loc. Morandici) and Vacri (Porcareccia).

²⁰⁸ Capini (1991) 113-4.

²⁰⁹ Lapenna (1997) 81.

²¹⁰ Morel (1976) 256. D

²¹¹ Cianfarani, Franchi dell'Orto, La Regina (1978) 500.

The role of sanctuaries in peasant societies has been studied in great depth. They seem not only to have been meeting spots, places to exchange information, where trade was carried out under of the eye of the divinity of the temple, but they also served as museums of collective memory and the history of those who celebrated the cult. Numerous war spoils have been found around temples A and B of Pietrabbondante, all of which date from the fifth to third centuries BC. They include helmets of Tarentine and Roman (Montefortino) style which attest whom the Samnites had been fighting. They were probably moved from the previous temples of the sanctuary.²¹³ We also have an inscription set up in honour of the goddess Victoria.²¹⁴ The architectural connections which bound Samnium to the rest of the Italian peninsula must be also considered here. The theatre at Pietrabbondante has its closest parallel in the Great Theatre of Pompeii before the Sullan reconstructions while the typology of the older temple recalls that of the altar found at fondo Patturelli near Capua.²¹⁵ The pavements of small red stones in the smaller temple of Schiavi d'Abruzzo and S. Giovanni in Galdo recall those in private houses of Campania.²¹⁶ The scenographic placing of the temple of Campochiaro and that of Pietrabbondante suggests their builders were acquainted with the architectural culture of Asia Minor. It is striking that the plans and décor do not imitate Roman forms, whether for political or aesthetic reasons.

The importance of the sanctuary at Pietrabbondante to the independent identity of the Pentri is also confirmed by the fact that its use came to an abrupt end with the Social War. The construction of Temple B and the theatre was never finished and the

²¹² La Regina (1976) 237-8.

²¹³ Cianfarani, Franchi dell'Orto La Regina (1978) tab. 305-6-7

²¹⁴ ST Sa 24.

²¹⁵ La Regina (1965) under the word Pietrabbondante.

site was abandoned after the war. Other smaller sanctuaries, however, continued to be frequented. Coins found between the pavement stones of the temples of Schiavi d'Abruzzo date from 217 BC to AD 253.²¹⁷ The sanctuary of Campochiaro was destroyed by a fire during the Social War, but was fully restored later.²¹⁸

2. 3. 5. Conclusions

Most of the Samnite hill-forts were probably first constructed in the fourth century BC and originally served mainly as refuges. In his accounts of the Samnite wars, however, Livy seldom mentions sieges of hill-forts. The Samnites seemed to have preferred to come out and fight in open battle, leaving the most vulnerable people in the forts. The hill-forts were also a means of maintaining control over strategically important passes or territories. The polygonal walls were also meant to impress and symbolize territorial control. Most of the hill-forts show some sign of habitation but some also seem to have included public buildings and private housing. Hill-forts could have acted as regional centres, as has been suggested in the case of Curino and Monte Vairano, and perhaps Capracotta and Monte Pallano. Similar use of hill-forts as centres of administration is indicated by the excavations at Roccagloriosa and the hill-forts of the Marsi.

In the absence of large urban centres, the settlement pattern was based mainly on villages and scattered farmsteads, which increased in number in areas suitable for agriculture, especially in the third and second centuries BC. Under Roman influence,

²¹⁶ For the private houses of Rome see: Matini (1971). For those in Campania: the most elaborate example is that of Ercolaneio, Maiuri (1958) 206; Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Via Riccardi: *Notizie degli Scavi* (1956) 65.

²¹⁷ Lapenna (2001) 46.

Aesernia, a Latin colony, and Aufidena, probably a *praefectura*, became regional centres. The communication lines and transhumance trails certainly contributed to the emergence of these centres. Literary sources mention Bovianum and Saepinum as wealthy and populous during the Samnite Wars, and archaeology attests considerable urbanisation at Saepinum in the second century BC. We know little about Terventum and Fagifulae.

The building of sanctuaries also intensified during the second century BC. Three waves of constructing sanctuaries are known before the Social War. The architecture and decoration of these sanctuaries shows closer relations to temples found in Campania and the Greek world: they do not suggest Roman influence. Temples, however, more often than not are associated with towns.

2. 4. Administrative institutions

2. 4. 1. *Touta* and *pagi*

A study of the administrative institutions of the Samnite heartland between the fourth and first centuries BC is not without its difficulties. The most significant problems are the sheer amount of evidence and the ambiguity of administrative terminology. This section discusses the institutions of the *touta* and the *meddix tuticus* and other offices as attested in the epigraphic and numismatic evidence. All the Oscan inscriptions from the region date from the period between the Second Punic War and the Social War.

²¹⁸ Capini, Campochiaro, in Franchi dell'Orto-La Regina (1978) 440.

It is generally accepted that the word *touta* is a fundamental expression in the definition of an autonomous community, people, tribe or city-state in the Oscan and Umbrian-speaking territories. However, we must remember that we know the existence of the *touta* in Samnium only through the adjective in the title of *meddix tuticus*. As was noted in the introductory section 2. 1, Salmon suggested that the expression *populi Samnitium* in Livy denoted the Samnite tribes of the Carracini, Pentri, Caudini, and the Hirpini and argued that each tribe formed one *touta*.²¹⁹

According to the model of La Regina, the area later called Samnium was occupied by one centralised, ethnic state between the fourth and first century BC, which formed one *touta*.²²⁰ The name of only one tribe, that of the Pentri, appears in the central Apennines, with Bovianum as its capital. This coherence of settlements in the region is confirmed by the allocation of most of the settlements in the area to the Voltinia voting tribe and later in one block to Augustus' fourth Region.

The few inscriptions that attest the word *touta* appear in other territories too, and are scattered across a large area and over a long period of time. The earliest references are from the area of Penna Sant'Andrea and date from the fifth century BC.²²¹ They mention the *safina tuta*. In this case, the expression *touta* must be interpreted in the widest possible sense, as *nomen*, meaning 'the Sabine people'.²²² The τῶντο μαμερτινο refers to an autonomous community formed by the Oscan speakers at the city of Messina in Sicily from the third century BC.²²³ In the Iguvine Tablets the expressions *tota iiouina* and *tota tarsinate* are qualified by the names of urban centres. In second-century BC Umbria, the *tota* therefore referred to a city-

²¹⁹ See section 2. 1. 1.

²²⁰ La Regina (1981) 129-33.

²²¹ ST TE 5 and 7. See also section 2. 2. 1

²²² Prosdocimi (1978a) 50-1.

²²³ ST Me 1, 2, 3, Ve 196, Co 1, Bu 62. Morandi 37

centred community.²²⁴ A similar meaning has been also suggested for the *touta marouca*, which designated those who formed an autonomous community around the urban centre called Teate Marrucinorum in the Roman period.²²⁵ In the Tabula Bantina, the expression *bansae touta* refers to the inhabitants of Bantia, a single community in the last quarter of the second century BC.²²⁶ Prosdocimi has argued for links between the term *touta* and the citadel of a pre-urban and urban centre called in Oscan *ocri/ocar* (in Latin *arx*, in Greek *akro-*).²²⁷ It seems that the *touta* in all these cases, apart from the *tuta safina*, was probably equivalent to the Latin term *populus*.

The fact that in Samnium the noun *touta* does not appear qualified by an adjective which indicates its geographical extension makes it difficult to define, since it could be used to describe a larger entity (*nomen* or tribe), but also a community within the *touta*. The use of the word *populus* has a similar double sense in Latin: the *populus Veientanus* was part of the Roman state, the *populus Romanus*. In the previous section I cited evidence for the development of distinct city-based communities.²²⁸ This raises the question of whether *touta* denoted the state of the Pentri or local Pentrian communities or both.

A second problem regarding administrative terminology is also related to the notion of Samnium as a tribal state. It is a commonly held view that the administrative system of the Italic populations was based on territorial units, called *pagi*, rather than on cities. In his description of the Samnite wars, Cornell suggests that the *pagus* was a 'canton comprising one or more villages (*vici*)'.²²⁹ The expression *pagus* occurs in Latin inscriptions of imperial date in the territory of the

²²⁴ for instance ST Um 1. VIa 29 and VIIa 11.

²²⁵ The expression appears in the so-called Tabula Rapinensis, which was dated to the mid third century BC: Cianfarani (1956) 311-327.

²²⁶ ST Lu 1. 19. Buck (1995) 234-5.

²²⁷ Prosdocimi (1978) 29-74.

²²⁸ See section 2.3.3.

Vestini and Paeligni. Some of the *pagi* had Oscan names, which has led several scholars to believe that they go back to pre-Roman administrative units.²³⁰ *Pagi* are also known in territories of formerly Samnite peoples: the alimentary table of *Ligures Baebiani*, which dates from the reign of Trajan, lists 19 *pagi* in the territory of Beneventum. The table is fragmentary and La Regina suggested that the overall number of the *pagi* must have been between 30 and 35.²³¹ On the basis of the proportion of the number of *pagi* in the geographical area of the territory of Beneventum, he produced hypothetical numbers for the *pagi* in the territories of the Paeligni and Vestini. La Regina also estimated the number of *vici* included within the *pagi*. The settlement pattern of the Samnite areas of the central Apennines is not as homogeneous as those of the territories of the Vestini and Paeligni, so comparable numbers for these areas cannot not be estimated, but La Regina still argued that a *pagus*-system functioned also in Samnium. Capogrossi Colognesi has rightly criticised the thesis that *pagi* existed among the Italic populations before the introduction of Roman administration.²³² He notes that the idea that the *pagi* of Beneventum go back to an original Samnite system presupposes a fairly uniform settlement pattern in the Samnite period, a claim that cannot be substantiated. The constant, organic relation between *pagi* and *vici* suggested by La Regina also lacks evidence.

²²⁹ Cornell (1995) 345.

²³⁰ Inscriptions mention the names of a handful of *pagi* in the territory of the Paeligi, such as the *pagus Vecellanus* (ILS 932 a), and *pagus Boedinus* (ILS 6532), *pagi Interpromini* (ILS 5609), in Campania the *pagus Herculaneus* at/near Capua (ILS 6302), *pagus Agrifanus*, *pagus Capriculanus*, *pagus Lanita* and *pagus Myttianus* at Nola or in the Hirpini the *pagi Meslanus* and *Aequanus* (ILS 6350) in the territory of Beneventum (ILS 6509).

²³¹ CIL IX 1455, La Regina (1970-1) 445-6.

²³² Capogrossi Colognesi (2002) On the *Tabula Alimentaria*: 131-58, on the Samnite *pagi*: 170-92.

Scholars have also tried to establish relations between the *touta* and the *pagi* and *vici*: Salmon thought that the *pagi* were administrative sub-units of the *touta*.²³³ The *pagi* included *vici*, *oppida* and *castella*, which therefore did not have political lives of their own. Capogrossi Colognesi rejects Salmon's scheme, arguing that we have no evidence to confirm relations between the tribal units and the *pagi*. He concludes that this and the attribution of political life to the *pagi* are based on a preconception of Schulten, who was influenced by partial knowledge of the *pagi* of German tribes²³⁴. Capogrossi Colognesi thinks it unlikely that the *vici* had no political or administrative importance. He points out that Strabo and Livy say that the Samnites lived *κωμηδόν* and *vicatim*, 'in villages' and not *pagatim*, 'in pagi'. I agree with Capogrossi Colognesi that the *pagi* were introduced in the territory of Beneventum and those of the Vestini and Paeligni by the Roman state, and that Salmon's suggestion that the *pagi* formed the political and administrative sub-unit of the *touta* is without basis. If the *touta* had a sub-unit, we are not aware of what it was called.

In conclusion, after the fourth century BC sporadic epigraphic evidence suggests that the term *touta* often denoted an urban centre and its territory. However in Samnium, that is the region of the Pentri, because of the lack of direct evidence, the question of whether *touta* denoted a local urban centre and its territory or a larger ethnic community or both, must be left open for now. I accept the view that rejects the idea that a *touta* was formed of a number of *pagi*. This does not mean that a *touta* did not have sub-units, but only that we do not have information about them. We are

²³³ Salmon (1967) 79-80; Cornell (1995) 345 follows Salmon's view: 'A group of such *pagi* would together form a larger tribal unit, for which the Oscan term was *touto* (Latin *populus*)'.

²³⁴ For criticism of Salmon's concept of the *pagi* see Capogrossi Colognesi (2002) 171-5.

still left with the question of what sort of *touta* was presided over by the *meddix tuticus* in Samnium.

2. 4. 2. Meddix tuticus

We have a dozen stone inscriptions and a substantial number of tile stamps recording the names of officials, mostly *meddices tutici*, which yield direct evidence for the study of the administrative institutions of the Samnite heartland in the period roughly between the Second Punic War and the Social War. In this period, the Pentri probably enjoyed the support of Rome for their loyalty during the Second Punic War. The limited epigraphic evidence comes from rural sanctuaries or is of unknown provenance.²³⁵ Inscriptions with the names of magistrates are found on fragments of stone and bronze inscriptions and on tiles in Samnium. Most of the stone and bronze inscriptions come from two sanctuaries, Pietrabbondante and Schiavi d'Abruzzo. They document the building of parts of temples, the dedication of temples or the donation of equipment to the temples. Some of the roof-tiles found in excavations in the central Apennines form a special group because they bear the abbreviation M T, which stands for *meddix tuticus*. The presence of public inscriptions in sanctuaries suggests that they were under public control. A stamp on a fragment of a jar seems to support this.²³⁶

²³⁵ The so-called *schede Chiovitti* are notes of a professor of mathematics, B. Chiovitti, who passionately collected and drew Oscan and Roman inscriptions, which he saw in the area of Boiano. The material has been lost, but the *schede* were published by De Benedittis (1978) 410-4.

²³⁶ ST tPo 42. The fragment, found behind temple A, shows the letters *túv*, meaning 'public'. The object, perhaps a storage jar, belonged to the sanctuary. It was classified by Rix in error among the Pompeian tile stamps. I am particularly grateful to Prof. Michael Crawford for this piece of information.

A considerable number of tile fragments was found in the sanctuary of Campochiaro during the excavation of the site begun in 1975 by the Archaeological Soprintendenza of Molise, which have greatly increased the body of tile stamps from Samnium. At present the tiles can only be sensibly dated by relating them to the construction of the building they covered. The sanctuary of Hercules Rani at Campochiaro was in use from the fourth century BC, and was rebuilt in the early second century BC.²³⁷ The tiles probably covered the roof of this second building. The title *meddix tuticus* was abolished after the Social War. The tiles therefore date from a period of about 120 years. Only one name, that of ni dek(itius) g(avi) f., can perhaps be identified. Under 217 BC, Livy describes Numerius Decitius as ‘a person of consequence both in family and fortune, not only in his town of Bovianum but in all Samnium’.²³⁸ If we are dealing with the same person, the tile must be one of the oldest in the sanctuary, but the man named on the tile could be a later relation. Numerous tiles also come from several small and unidentified temples around Boiano. Others were found at Saepinum, Castel di Sangro and Pietrabbondante.

One of the most fundamental questions about the Samnite political system is whether the office of the *meddix tuticus* was single or collegial. Most of the epigraphic evidence from Samnium documents the name of only one *meddix tuticus*, thus implying that the office was single. We have twenty-six different stamps which use the abbreviation M T, that is, *meddix tuticus*. They give one or, in a few cases, two names, also in abbreviated form. Prosdocimi divided the tile stamps into three groups according to the position of the office on the stamp.²³⁹ In group A of 19 stamps, the office is followed by the name of the office-holder;²⁴⁰ group B comprises

²³⁷ See in section 2. 2. 3, on Sanctuaries.

²³⁸ Livy 22. 24. 11.

²³⁹ Prosdocimi (1980) 209.

²⁴⁰ ST tSa5-23.

three stamps in which the name of the office holder precedes the office;²⁴¹ the four stamps of group C give two names with M T between them.²⁴²

Where a tile stamp bears only one name, it must be that of the *meddix tuticus*. Group A, the majority, where the name comes after the office seems to have been Oscan usage. Group B, where the office comes after the name or names, however, follows the Roman practice. Stone inscriptions in Samnium also follow the Roman usage. It is possible that the two usages in the tile stamps can be dated to two different periods, group A probably came first. In Oscan inscriptions concerning collegiate magistrates such as aedile, the office usually follows the two names.²⁴³

The problem is how to interpret group C. The vast majority of names in types A and B include the *praenomen*, *nomen gentilicium* and patronym.²⁴⁴ None of the names in group C preceding the abbreviation for *meddix tuticus* include a patronymic. This suggests that the first name is not that of a *meddix tuticus* and therefore that the name following the office is that of the *meddix tuticus*. It also rules out the theory of La Regina that the two names refer to the same period of office, that the first person died in office and the second took his place.²⁴⁵ In any case, it is not plausible that this happened in four out of 26 cases. The identity of the name in front of the office is still open to debate. Capini suggested that it is that of the tilemaker.²⁴⁶ Other possibilities are that it is the man who paid for the tiles or the name of a local magistrate.

²⁴¹ ST tSa 24-6.

²⁴² ST tSa 1-4.

²⁴³ See ST Sa 14, although the inscription is fragmentary, it is plausible that the names of three aediles were inscribed in the stone. This practice is also known from Pompeii: ST Po 1, 2, 8, 15 with the aedilis and questor offices.

²⁴⁴ Apart from the fragmentary ones, where the second part of the inscription is missing and one, that of v. kr. m. t. l. kar. This is the only tile stamp where it is doubtless that the second name does not have affiliation.

²⁴⁵ La Regina (1989) 328.

²⁴⁶ Capini (1978) 433.

Three recently found tile stamps from Bovianum and Campochiaro apparently also cast doubt on whether there was a single *meddix tuticus*. One tile, ST tSa 21, records m. t. sn. staí mitl k, the second, ST tSa 20, m. t. l. sta. ú. mit. We might be dealing with two pairs of *meddices tutici*, the first being composed of Stenius Staius and Mitulus C() and the second of Lucius Staius and Ovius Mitulus.²⁴⁷ However, in most tile stamps the name of the *meddix tuticus* includes his patronymic and La Regina has argued that these abbreviations give the patronymic and papponymic of each *meddix tuticus*: Stenius Staius son of Mitulus grandson of C() and Lucius Staius son of Ovius grandson of Mitulus.²⁴⁸ Capini instead suggests that the fourth element in each case is an abbreviated *cognomen*: Stenius Staius C() son of Mitulus and Lucius Staius Mitulus son of Ovius.²⁴⁹

Two stone inscriptions from Pietrabbondante are relevant here.²⁵⁰

ST Sa 13: gn(aívs) staatiis. l(úvkieís) klar [.m(eddis). túvtiks). súvad eítuiva]d.
pestlúm. úpsannúm. faamated. p(edúm). LX (Pietrabbondante, Temple B)

ST Sa 21: gn(aívs). staíís. m(ara)h(eís). stafidins. metd(ís) t(úvtiks).
dadíkatted (Pietrabbondante, Temple A)

The names of two *meddices tutici* consist of four parts in these inscriptions: those of Gnaeus Staius Stabidinus son of Maraeus and Gnaeus Staius Clar() son of Lucius. Since the verbs of both inscriptions are singular (*dedikated*, *faamated*), a single *meddix tuticus* must be meant in both cases. The fourth element of the names seems to be a *cognomen*. In the first case Clar might be toponymic or papponymic, in the

²⁴⁷ for mitl = Mitulus / Mutilus see Salomies (1987) 105-6.

²⁴⁸ La Regina (1989) 336 nr. 9 and 12. La Regina emended the abbreviation C to Gellius.

²⁴⁹ Capini (1978) 424. Poccetti supports Capini's view for ST tSa 21.

²⁵⁰ The Oscan text appear throughout the thesis as given by Rix (2002). His usage of dots and brackets are also followed: [...] for letters not now preserved which the editor believe to have been inscribed

second Stabidinus is plausibly the toponym from Stabiae. It should also be noted that in each case a Staius is mentioned. This gens name was probably so common that the men added their patronym and *cognomen* to distinguish themselves from other Staii.

The third tile stamp, ST tSa 24, documents Gaius Papius son of Mitulus M T X. The letter X following the abbreviation of the office of *meddix tuticus* has been interpreted in several ways. La Regina thought it denoted a *meddix tuticus* who was holding office for the tenth time.²⁵¹ Prosdocimi compared it to the *meddices degetasii* at Nola, and proposed that X stands for *deketasis*, although none of the *meddices* at Nola is *tuticus*. More plausibly, Capini has suggested that it refers to a decennial *meddix tuticus*.²⁵² It is possible that the same man appears as *meddix tuticus* in the tile stamp n|i. staa. m. t. g. paap. mit, whether omitting the X or in a previous tenure.²⁵³ In any case, all scholars agree that the letter X does not imply that there were ten *meddices*. The tile stamps therefore do not compel us to revise the generally accepted view that the office of *meddix tuticus* was single.

The tiles were stamped with the name of the chief magistrate to indicate the year when they were made as was common practice in Greek and Roman states.²⁵⁴ The eponymous use of the office of the *meddix tuticus* can be observed also in a new inscription from Schiavi d'Abruzzo, where the office and the name of the holder, Ni. Dekitiúd, are given in the ablative absolute to denote the year when the temple was dedicated.²⁵⁵ This proves that the office of *meddix tuticus* was annual.

and (...) letters supplied by the editor to fill out an abbreviation in the inscribed text. Both brackets are also used in the translations.

²⁵¹ La Regina (1989) 328.

²⁵² Capini (1985) 248.

²⁵³ ST tSa 1.

²⁵⁴ Vitruv. *De arch.* 2. 3. 2. mentions bricks made at least two years before their use are the best building material. In Utica only bricks made five years previously were used and 'approved as such by the authority of the magistrate'. Vitruv. *De arch.* 2. 8. 19 also alleged that the strongest walls were built of roofing tiles which endured weathering.

²⁵⁵ ST Sa 2.

The tile stamps raise other fundamental questions. If we take the stamps as a single corpus, we find that occasionally the same name appears in several sanctuaries. Lucius Cleppius son of Lucius is attested at Campochiaro, Colle d'Anchise and Saepinum.²⁵⁶ Stamps of Gaius Numerius son of Herennius have been found at Campochiaro and Bovianum.²⁵⁷ Mitulus Papius son of Lucius appears on tiles at Campochiaro and Bovianum.²⁵⁸ The same is true for Trebius Satrius son of Trebius and Lucius Staius son of Ovius grandson of Mitulus.²⁵⁹ Pacius Laius son of Pacius is known at Castellone, Colle d'Anchise and Campochiaro.²⁶⁰ One straightforward conclusion is that the sanctuaries around Bovianum and Saepinum were subject to the same public office and belonged to the same political unit in the period between the end of the third and the beginning of the first centuries BC. Unless we suppose that these two settlements formed one administrative unit separate from other settlements in the region, this is strong evidence for the view that the *meddix tuticus* was the chief magistrate of a larger political unit, the Pentrian state.²⁶¹

The vast majority of the stone inscriptions show *meddices tutici* building, dedicating or embellishing sanctuaries. Most of the stone inscriptions have been found in or in the vicinity of the sanctuary at Pietrabbondante. Temple A was built in

²⁵⁶ ST tSa 10. One of the tiles was found by Cianfarani in the area of the Forum of Saepinum, as reported by La Regina (1966) 269, n. 16.

²⁵⁷ ST tSa 8.

²⁵⁸ ST tSa 6.

²⁵⁹ ST tSa 7 and ST tSa 20.

²⁶⁰ ST tSa 5.

²⁶¹ The only alternative interpretation is that the tiles in the small sanctuaries around Bovianum were made in Bovianum and were dated by the annual magistrate of that settlement. But the fact that the same tile stamps were also found at Campochiaro, Colle d'Anchise, and Saepinum cannot possibly explained this way.

the first half of the second century BC.²⁶² Inscriptions recording repair or embellishment can only be dated to some time after the building of the temple.

On the façade at least two separate inscriptions are attested. One refers to the dedication of the temple: ST Sa 21, Ve 151, Pocc 19, Co 174, Bu 47, Strazzulla 1, SE 42 (1974), 374, 3.

gn(aívs). staíís. m(ara)h(eís). ştafidins. metd(ís) t(úvtíks). dadíkatted

Gnaeus Staius Stabidinus (of Stabiae?) son of Maraeus *meddix tuticus* dedicated.

The other inscription, ST Sa 3, Ve 152, Co 172, Strazzulla 2, SE 42 (374) 4, records that Titus Staius son of Titus, probably *meddix tuticus*, also constructed some part of the temple.

t. staíís. t. [-?- e]kək. úpsa[nnam. de]ded. esídum. prúfatted.

Titus Staius son of Titus [- ? -] commissioned the construction of this (...).

He himself approved it.

Another *meddix tuticus* whose name is uncertain contributed to the building or embellishment of the temple: ST Sa 5, Ve 153, Co 170, Bu 48, Pi 40A, CII 2873 twice, Strazzulla 4, SE 42 (1974), 374, 5.

sten[is. – 10/12 -] meddís túvt [ík]ş. úpsannam. deded. íním. prúfatted

Sthenius [- 10/12 –] *meddix tuticus* commissioned the construction of (this) and he approved (it).

An extremely fragmentary inscription, STSa 4, which will be discussed in detail in section 2. 4. 3, mentions the donation of a door to the temple A.

²⁶² See section 2. 2. 3.

Temple B, built at the end of the second or beginning of the first century BC, also has dedications by *meddices tutici*. One of them is ST Sa 13, Ve 154, Pocc 18, Co 173, Bu 49, Pi 40C, Strazzulla 7, SE 44 (1976) 291.

gn(aívs) staatiis. l(úvkieís) klar [.m(eddís). tívtiks). súvad eítíuva]d. pestlúm.
úpsannúm. faamated. p(edúm). LX

Gnaeus Statius Clarus son of Lucius [*meddix tuticus*] ordered that this podium, sixty feet (long), was to be built [with his own money].

The inscription records a private contribution by Gnaeus Statius Clarus son of Lucius, possibly when he was *meddix tuticus*.

Three inscriptions record that Pacius Staius son of Lucius commissioned the making of three basins for the sanctuary.

First, ST Sa 10, Pocc 14, PdP 30 (1975) 167-9, SE 44 (1976) 291, which was found south-west of the corner of Temple B:

pak(is). staíis. l(úvkieís). m(eddís). t(úvtíks). aapam kellaked. ²íním. kúrass.
ekask. emanafed ³esídum. prúfatted.

Pacius Staius son of Lucius *meddix tuticus* stored water and commissioned these basins. He himself approved (them).

Second, ST Sa 11, Pocc 13, AION L 13 (1991) 240, RhM 109 (1966) 264, 3, Strazzulla 10. This is identical to ST Sa 10.

p[ak(is). staíis. l(úvkieís). m] t(úvtíks). aapa[m kellak]ed. ²[í]n[ím. k]úr[ass.
ekask.] am [a]nafed ³esídum. prúfatted.

Pacius Staius son of Lucius. *meddix tuticus* stored water and commissioned these basins. He himself approved (them).

Third, ST Sa 12, Pocc. 15, RhM 109 (1966) 264-6, 4, RhM 113 (1970) 262, Strazzulla 13.

pak(is). staíis. l(úvkieís). m(eddís). t(úvtíks). aapam [ek]ak. pata[na]m

²kellaked. íním. kú rass. ekask. [-]manafed esídum. prúfatted.

Pacius Staius son of Lucius *meddix tuticus* stored this ‘open’ water and he commissioned these basins. He himself approved (them).

A further donative inscription, ST Sa 28, found in the vicinity of the temple B, is too fragmentary to provide us with the name of the magistrate. We have only his title: *meddix tuticus*.

Epigraphic evidence from other sites records *meddices tutici* acting on behalf or with the approval of councils.

ST Sa 9, Pocc 20, SE 44 (1976) 283-4 and 288-90. Colle Vernone, near Pietrabbondante.²⁶³

[-?]iis. h(eíre)n(neís). m(eddís) t(úvtíks). pukele[í. iúviú]í. assass. aamanafed

²[s]enateís {u} tanginúd. esídum. prúfated.

[...] son of Herennius *meddix tuticus* commissioned the altars to the son (of)

Juppiter²⁶⁴ by the decision of the senate. He himself approved (them).

The Latin name of the council, *senatus*, shows Roman influence and points to a later date, perhaps towards the end of the second century BC.²⁶⁵

A similar text comes from Schiavi d’Abruzzo: ST Sa 2, Pocc 34.²⁶⁶

²⁶³ Published by La Regina (1976) 283-4.

²⁶⁴ For pukele[í. see Prosdocimi (1976) 288-9, Lejeune (1976) 289-91 and Untermann (1979) 306-7.

²⁶⁵ For the etymology of *senatus* see: Camporeale (1957) 64-5.

²⁶⁶ La Regina (1970-1) 458; La Regina (1976) 237; Untermann (1979) 308-9, no. 11; Prosdocimi (1980) 187-93; La Regina (1991) 149-52; Lapenna (1997) 81-8; Lapenna (2002) 48-50.

m(edíkúd) t(úvtíkúd) ni(umsiúd) dekítiúd. mi(íneís). mi(ínis) púpeli(i)s
 st(aatieís) legú. tanginúd ²aamanafed. esídum. pr[ú]fated. úpsed. g(aavis).
 paapi(is). g(aavieís) f()

When Numidius Decitius son of Minius was *meddix tuticus*, Minius Pupelius son of Statius by the decree of *legú* commissioned (this temple). He himself approved it. Gavius Papius son of Gavius built it.

This inscription records that a person who was not *meddix tuticus* commissioned and approved the smaller and later temple at the sanctuary of Schiavi d'Abruzzo according to the decision of what may perhaps have been a council.²⁶⁷ The inscription shows strong Latin influence. First, the title and name of *meddix tuticus* appear in the ablative absolute, which is commonly used for dating in Rome. The name of the builder apparently has the letter *f* to denote filiation by the Latin *filius*. This and the previous text both use the formula *tanginúd aamanafed esídum prúfated*, which is conventionally Latinised as *(senatus) sententia faciendum curavit idemque probavit*. The end of the same formula also appears on a fragmentary bronze plate from Temple B at Pietrabbonante.²⁶⁸ ST Sa 2 is the only inscription in which the word *legú* is attested. It appears in the same position as the *senatus* in the former inscription and presumably denotes the council giving orders or approval for the commission of the sanctuary. It is not clear whether the *legú* was the same as the *senatus*. At Pompeii two urban councils are attested in inscriptions, the *kúmbenneis* and *[k]úmparakineis*, which both gave orders to the *quaestores*. In Lucania too a senate appears to have instructed or advised a local *quaestor*.²⁶⁹ The two inscriptions from Samnium similarly suggest that the construction work in sanctuaries was

²⁶⁷ The position of the word (*legú tanginúd*, as *s]enateís {u} tanginúd* above) and its relation of the Latin word *lex* suggest that it could have been a counselling body. See Untermann (2000) under *legu*.

²⁶⁸ ST Sa 8.

ordered or approved by a council. The question of which communities were represented by this council or councils must, however, remain open.

An inscription from Pietrabbondante shows a *meddix tuticus* acting on behalf of a community.²⁷⁰ ST Sa 7, Ve 150, Co 171, Bu 146, Pi 40B, Strazzulla 6, SE 42 (1974) 373-4, 2.

n(ú)v(is). vesullia²ís. tr(ebieís). m(eddís). t(úvtíks). ³ekík. sakara ⁴klúm. búva
⁵ianúd ⁶aíkdafed

Novius Vesulliaeus son of Trebius *meddix tuticus* (...)ed this sanctuary
for/from Bovianum²⁷¹.

The ablative case of the place name can be interpreted at least in two ways: it could refer to the place where the magistrate held his position, but it is more likely that it indicates the community on behalf of which the *meddix tuticus* acted.

Lastly, a complete stone inscription from Fagifulae uniquely records a *meddix* without the adjective *tuticus*. ST Sa 25, Ve 156, Co 163, Bu 51.

b(a)n(tis). betitis. b(a)n(ttieís). meddíss. prúffed

Bantius Betitius son of Bantius *meddix* approved (it).

The question is whether this *meddix* was distinct from the *meddix tuticus*. Beloch and Salmon thought that this simple *meddix* was a local magistrate who was inferior to the chief magistrate of the Pentrian state, the *meddix tuticus*.²⁷² The name bn bet [...] *meddix tuticus* is attested on a tile stamp found at Bovianum.²⁷³ If the same person is

²⁶⁹ ST Lu 6 and 7.

²⁷⁰ Further bibliography: Bullettino Archeologico Napoletano 3 (1844-5) and Avellino in Bullettino Archeologico Napoletano 6 (1847-8), Lejeune (1973) 94-111.

²⁷¹ The meaning of the word aikdafed is still debated.

²⁷² Beloch (1880) 169; Salmon (1967) 87.

²⁷³ ST tSa 18. See Capini's comments in SE 53 (1985) 248.

attested, it would follow that the Fagifulae *meddix* was probably the *meddix tuticus* with the qualifying adjective omitted. However, the tile is fragmentary and the filiation of the officer is lost, so we cannot be sure that it is the same man rather than a homonym or relation. It is possible that the *meddix* in the Fagifulae inscription was a local magistrate. The interpretation of this case must remain open for now.

2. 4. 3. Other offices

Other public offices are also attested in Samnium. A fragmentary stone inscription from Valle di Comino in Barrea, north of Aufidena, apparently from a temple, attests some *aediles*: ST Sa 14, Ve 143, Co 178, Pi 35C, RIGI 11 (1927) 293.

-?-]s: ² [?.m]iníeís: ³ [?.ga]avíeís: aídilí [s: ⁴ -?]m: peesslúm: ⁵ -?- p]rúfatt
[ens]

[...] son of []s, [...] son of Minius [...] son of Gavius *aediles* [...] the
podium [...]approved (it).

This is our only record of the aedileship among the Pentri.²⁷⁴ The exact location of the temple is not known. The title *aídili[s]* is clearly borrowed from Latin.²⁷⁵ Presumably there were at least three *aediles* in this community or possibly four. As at Rome and Pompeii, they were inferior to the chief magistracy.

Another inscription records a *censor* in Samnium. ST Sa 4, Ve 149, Co 169, Bu 50, Strazzulla 3, SE 42 (1974) 373, 1.

²⁷⁴ Camporeale draws attention to the problems of reading the word as singular or plural: (1957) 48-9.

²⁷⁵ Camporeale (1957) 47.

púrtam. líís[eís az² pú]d safinim. sak[arat ínīm ³ur]upam. íak. úín[itú.
túvtú⁴ín]ím. keenstur [uupsen⁵m]aííeís. maraiíeís [eítiuvad ⁶p]aam. essuf.
úmbn[ited. díleí ⁷a]vt. pústiris. esidu[m. dunneís] ⁸duunated. fíís[naí-----(-)
⁹í]nīm. leígúss. samíd[-----(-)¹⁰ -]úvfrikúnúss. fíf[íked]

The door of the *líís*- by which Samnium shrine(?) and (...) *upam* the *úín-tuvtu*? and the *censor* [built] (....) of Maius Maraeus which he himself made, but later the same gave as a gift to the temple, he provided(...) ...

This fragmentary *cippus* comes from temple A at Pietrabbondante.²⁷⁶ The office of *censor* is not attested elsewhere in Samnium, but it appears in the territory of the Frentani and in the Roman influenced *Tabula Bantina* among the Lucani. It is a generally held opinion that the Samnites adopted the title from Rome.²⁷⁷ At Rome censors took the *census*, registered the property of citizens and arranged state contracts.²⁷⁸ The text here is too lacunose to be certain what the *censor* had done at Pietrabbondante. Vetter thought that he had administered collection of money needed to build temple A, but there is no evidence to confirm this.

The epigraphic evidence suggests that the Pentri did not have indigenous names for offices other than *meddix tuticus*, but borrowed Roman terms for them. This might imply that these other offices were new creations, adopted and perhaps adapted from the system of Rome and its colonies. But the attestations are so few, and all from a later period of alliance with Rome, that we cannot be sure whether these were older offices given new names.

²⁷⁶ Rix suggests that Maius Maraeus built something at his own expense, and later donated it to the temple: Rix (1993) 345. He might have been an earlier magistrate, perhaps *meddix tuticus*.

²⁷⁷ Watmough (1995/6) 94-6. Camporeale however argues that the office was originally Italic: Camporeale (1956) 75-6.

2. 5. Social élite and Samnite leaders

The importance of kinship and *gentes* in southern Italy in antiquity has long been recognised.²⁷⁹ The leading *gentes* were prime movers of changes of different types: their need for land led to the conflicts with Rome, which culminated in the Samnite Wars, and their desire for the recognition of their rights or the Roman citizenship was one main motive for the Social War. Several *gentes* appear again and again in inscriptions and written accounts of Samnium. The questions of how family groups were defined and how some achieved a leading role cannot be studied due to the lack of evidence. Few scholars go beyond describing the Samnites broadly as a society of peasants and herdsmen, who ‘lived a life of toil and hardship’. Large landed estates, Salmon continued, ‘were owned by a handful of families who enjoyed wealth, power, and authority, and for centuries were the leaders of the nation and makers of its policy’.²⁸⁰ Dench has drawn a more nuanced picture of the social structure of the Samnite ‘mountain’ society.²⁸¹ It is not my aim here to provide a general study of Samnite society. However, prosopographic evidence from inscriptions, coins and literary sources, can be used to study the breadth or narrowness of the élite in Samnium, and the issue of élite mobility.

The safest approach is to study two élite groups that can be identified with certainty: first the political élite, who appear as *meddices tutici* in inscribed dedications and tile stamps; second, the military leaders of the Social War attested on coins and in the literary evidence. A third group of the recorded military leaders of

²⁷⁸ Lintott (1999) 115-20.

²⁷⁹ e.g. Lomas (2000) 84 on Apulia.

²⁸⁰ Salmon (1967) 52-3.

²⁸¹ Dench (1995) 140-53.

the Samnites during the Samnite and Punic Wars can be added, although their historicity may be open to some doubt.

Table 1a: *Gens* names of *meddices tutici*, and their Latin equivalents from inscriptions

Oscan <i>gens</i> names from inscriptions	Latin equivalents
betitis (ST Sa 25- <i>meddix</i>);	Betitius
dekitiúd(ST Sa 2), dekitis (La Regina (1966) 262);	Decitius
staiis (ST Sa 10, 11, 12), staiís (ST Sa 3 <i>meddix tuticus?</i> , 21);	Staius
staatiis (ST Sa 13);	Statius
vesulliaís (ST Sa 7);	Vesulliaeus

Table 1b: From tile stamps.

bet (ST tSa 18);	Betitius
dek (ST tSa 22);	Decitius
ega (ST tSa 12);	Egnatius ?
heri (ST tSa 13);	Herius
paap (ST tSa 1); paa (ST tSa 6); pap (ST tSa 23 and 25); papi (ST tSa 24);	Papius
púmt (ST tSa 9, 11);	Pontius or Pomponius ? ²⁸²
sadri (ST tSa 7);	Satrius
stai (ST tSa 16, 21), stai (ST tSa 26), stai (ST tSa 32);	Staius

²⁸² As a praenomen see Salomies (1987) 87-8. Rix (2002) implies that *púmt* of ST tSa 9 and 11 is the same gens name of πομπιες in ST Me 1 and 2, πομπτοιες ST Me 3, *púntiis* of ST Po 1, *ponties* of ST Pg 5 and *puntieis* of ST Cm 28.

staa (ST tSa 1), sta (ST tSa 2, 14, 20, 31);	Statius
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Table 1c: Fragmentary *gens* names from tile stamps.

Oscan family-names	Latin
aím (ST tSa 16);	Aemilius?
es (ST tSa 19);	
ka (ST tSa 3);	Caius?
kar (De Benedittis (1978) 411, 1 a, b, c) ;	
klí (ST tSa 10);	Cleppius?
laí (ST tSa 5);	Laius?
nim (ST tSa 8);	Numerius?
st (ST tSa 17);	Staius? Statius?

Table 2: Names of generals on coins of the allied forces

g. paapi g. mutíl (St nPg 3; 4a, b; 5; 6 a, b);	Gaius Papius Mutilus son of Gaius
ni. lúvki mr (ST nPg 7)	Numerius Lucius son of Maraeus

Table 3: Names of generals in literary texts

Titus Lafrenus (App., <i>B. C.</i> 1. 42.)	
Gaius Pontilius (App., <i>B. C.</i> 1. 42.)	
Marius Egnatius (App., <i>B. C.</i> 1. 42.)	
Quintus Popidaeus (App., <i>B. C.</i> 1. 42.)	

Marcus Lamponius (App., <i>B. C.</i> 1. 42.)	
Gaius Vidacilius (App., <i>B. C.</i> 1. 42.)	
Herius Asinius (App., <i>B. C.</i> 1. 42.)	
Vettius Scaton (App., <i>B. C.</i> 1. 42.)	

The first Papius appears in Livy, *vir nobilis potensque*.²⁸³ Papius appears as the leader of the Samnite troops who occupied Nola, Stabiae, Minervium (that is Surrentum) and Nuceria.²⁸⁴ Mutilus, a Samnite general, wounded by Sulla, took refuge in Aesernia. Sulla later destroyed his camp and moved on to attack the seat of the council of the insurgents at Bovianum.²⁸⁵ It is very likely that the Gaius Papius of Appian's list and the Mutilus who appears in Appian's second passage as the leader of the Samnite army, are both identical with the Gaius Papius Mutilus attested on the coins. The gentilicium and *cognomen* of this general also appear in a number of other accounts of the Social War.²⁸⁶

The lists collected above from stones and tile stamps in tables 1a and 1b, contain 31 names where the *gens*-name is certain. Out of the 31 names, 9 belong to the Staii and 6 to the Statii. So 29% of the magistrates bore the name Staius, and 19.3 % that of Statius. This indicates the importance of these two family groups in the political life of the Pentri. Of course not all Staii and Statii belonged to the same family. Probably, as at Rome, some *gentes* had split into separate family groups.²⁸⁷ We can, however conclude that over the roughly 120 years covered by our

²⁸³ Livy, 8. 39. 5; App., *B. C.* 1. 41.

²⁸⁴ App., *B. C.* 1. 42.

²⁸⁵ App., *B. C.* 1. 51.

²⁸⁶ Licinian 36. 10 Critini: Papius Mutilus, Livy Per. 69: Mutilus; Orosius 5. 18. 10. Greek sources report the name with some corruption: Diod. Sic. 37. 2. 6 : Γάϊος Απώκιος Μότυλος Diod. Sic. 37. 2. 7 Γαῖω Μοτύλω Plut. fort. Rom. 9. 6. Μούλιος.

epigraphic evidence, the Pentrian state was dominated by a restricted group of politically active families.

Names of several *gentes* have been found at numerous locations within Samnium and sometimes outside it as well. A Latin inscription attests L. Satrius L. f. *magister* of the *Samnites inquolae* at Aesernia.²⁸⁸ Tiles from the sanctuaries of Civita di Boiano and Campochiaro document Trebius Satrius son of Trebius as *meddix tuticus*.²⁸⁹ Other people with the same *gens*-name spread to other parts of southern Italy: an inscription from Pompeii mentions Vibius Sadrius son of Vibius as *aedilis*, while we find a P. Sadries son of Titus as one of the *meddices atici* of the Paeligni.²⁹⁰

Several bearers of the name Decitius are recorded in inscriptions. Numidius Decitius is attested on the pavement inscription at Schiavi d'Abruzzo as *meddix tuticus*.²⁹¹ Two others, though not holding the office, are attested at Aufidena and at Pietrabbondante.²⁹² Tile stamps document the name of the *gens* at Campochiaro.²⁹³ Other Decitii appear in Latin inscriptions from Terventum.²⁹⁴ Livy refers to a Numerius Decitius as a military leader in the Second Punic War.²⁹⁵ Cicero refers to Cn. Decitius Samnis who was proscribed by Sulla in 82 BC.²⁹⁶

Some Betitii are attested at Campochiaro,²⁹⁷ others at Monte Vairano.²⁹⁸ As regards the name Pomponius, we have two *meddices tutici* inscriptions, one from Campochiaro and one found in the area of Boiano.²⁹⁹

²⁸⁷ Hopkins (1983) 54.

²⁸⁸ CIL I² 3201.

²⁸⁹ ST tSa 7.

²⁹⁰ ST Po 11 and ST Pg 1.

²⁹¹ ST Sa 2.

²⁹² ST Sa 18 and 24.

²⁹³ ST tSa 22.

²⁹⁴ CIL IX 2596, 2611, 2612.

²⁹⁵ Livy 22. 24. 11.

²⁹⁶ Pro Cluent. 161.

²⁹⁷ ST tSa 18.

²⁹⁸ REI 48 (1980) 420.

²⁹⁹ ST tSa 9 and 11.

Table 4: The Staii as *meddices tutici*

Name	Date ³⁰⁰	Type of inscription	Reference
Titus Staius son of Titus	Dedicator of temple A of Pietrabbondante, around 180 BC. Probably meddix tuticus	Stone	ST Sa 3
Gnaeus Staius Stabidinus son of Maraeus	Decorated of temple A of Pietrabbondante, around 180 BC	Stone	ST Sa 21
Sn ? Staius son of Mitulus grandson of Caius	Around 130 BC	Tile stamp	ST tSa 21
Lucius Staius son of Maraeus		Tile stamp	ST tSa 2 and ST tSa 16
Gaius Staius (son of ?)	Around 120 BC (?)	Tile stamp	ST tSa 17
Pacius Staius son of Lucius	Donor of three stone basins of Pietrabbondante, shortly before 90 BC	Stone	ST Sa 10, 11 and 12.
Lucius Staius son of Ovius grandson of Mitulus		Tile stamp	ST tSa 20

³⁰⁰ Dates are based on the information provided by La Regina (1989) 334-8.

Numerous bearers of this *gens* name also appear outside Samnium. Pz (Pacius?) Staius son of Pz (Pacius) is attested on a boundary stone from the territory of Nola as a member of a committee of four magistrates.³⁰¹ Staii are attested in Latin inscriptions at Larinum, Beneventum, Luceria, Minturnae, Aeclanum and in the territory of Paeligni.³⁰² We also find Staii amongst the inhabitants of Delos. In the early second century BC, Minatus Staius son of Ovius and Caius Staius son of Ovius, perhaps brothers, were benefactors of the local temple of Sarapis.³⁰³

The inventory of the temples of Apollo and Artemis of Delos records the donation of a gold crown to Apollo and a silver crown to Artemis by Minatus Statius son of Minatus of Cumae presumably in return for economic success.³⁰⁴ Appian tells us that Statius ‘the Samnite, who had had great influence with the Samnites during the Social War and who had been raised to the rank of a Roman senator for his noble deeds, his wealth, his lineage, and who was not eighty years of age, was proscribed on account of his riches’ in 43 BC.³⁰⁵ Statii are also found in Campania: Cerrinus Statius son of Cerrinus is known as a magistrate at Nola.³⁰⁶ Another Statius appears in a fragmentary inscription from Abella.³⁰⁷

The above list of members of *gentes* provides further evidence for the geographic dispersion of kinship groups in ancient Italy. The names reveal the ties between the Samnite heartland and Campania. One pattern can be also observed: several *gentes* whose members held important offices in the Pentrian state also appear among the political élite of other territories, such as the *gens Satria*, who

³⁰¹ ST Cm 48. See section 5. 3. 1: Administrative institutions of Nola and Abella.

³⁰² Larinum: CIL IX 6251; Beneventum: CIL IX 1971; Luceria: CIL IX 816; Minturnae: CIL I² 2702; Aeclanum: CIL IX 1169, 1311, 1498; Paeligni: CIL IX 3080.

³⁰³ Wilson (1966) 117.

³⁰⁴ ID (1929) 442 B147, ID (1929) 443 Bb64, ID (1935) 1403 Bb II 91, ID (1935) 1432 Ab I 30 and ID (1935) 1443 A I 123 mention Μίνατος Μινάτου Τήλιος Ρωμαῖος ἐκ Κύμης. Τήλιος has been identified as Staius. by Münzer in *RE*, under Staius.

³⁰⁵ Appian B. C. 4. 25. Wiseman (1971) nr. 414.

³⁰⁶ ST Cm 48 and also section 5. 3. 1: Administrative institutions of Nola and Abella.

produced a *magister* for the Samnite inhabitants of Aesernia, an *aedilis* for Pompeii and a *meddix aticus* in the territory of the Paeligni. The Decitii were particularly active within Samnium, while the Staii and the Statii are attested both in Samnium and Campania as high ranking magistrates.

La Regina, in his article about the stemma of the *gens Papia*, thought that both the father and grandfather of the Samnite general of the Social War are attested on tile stamps.³⁰⁸ The father may be Gaius Papius son of Mitulus, *meddix tuticus*, and perhaps also Gaius Papius Mitulus, *meddix tuticus* X.³⁰⁹ The grandfather is identified as the *meddix tuticus* Mitulus Papius son of Lucius (?).³¹⁰ Other bearers of the *gens* name include: Numerius Papius son of Maraeus *meddix tuticus* on two tile stamps;³¹¹ Marcus Papius Mutilus son of Marcus, grandson of Numerius, *suffect consul* in AD 9, probably a *novus homo*;³¹² C. Papius who paved the forum of Saepinum in the time of Augustus;³¹³ on an inscription from Vastogirardi, Sextus Papius son of Nonius and perhaps his three sons, Marcus Papius, Caius Papius and Lucius Papius;³¹⁴ at Aufidena, Caius Papius Ferox son of (...).³¹⁵

Ancient sources occasionally mention names of Samnite generals during the Samnite Wars. The victory of the Caudine Forks was attributed to the Pontii.³¹⁶ The peace treaty that followed was arranged by Gaius Pontius and his father Herennius, who was an old man at the time and had retired from his military and civil duties. Herennius Pontius attracted the attention of several ancient authors: Cicero's *Cato*

³⁰⁷ ST Cm 3.

³⁰⁸ La Regina (1991) 149 and 151. The article often overstates the evidence.

³⁰⁹ La Regina (1991) 149. ST tSa 1 and ST tSa 24.

³¹⁰ ST tSa 6.

³¹¹ ST tSa 23 and 25.

³¹² Klein (1881) 18.

³¹³ A Èpig. (1959) 70, n.276.

³¹⁴ CIL I² 1757.

³¹⁵ CIL IX 2771 only the name of his wife is attested in this inscription; CIL IX 2808.

³¹⁶ Livy 9. 3. 5, 9. 1. 2, 9. 15. 8, Per. 11, 9. 22. 6-7; Quadrig. fr. 19. 21; Dion. Hal. 16. 1, 4; Val. Max. 7. 2. exat. 17; Flor. 1. 11 (16) 10;

maior claims that his Tarentine host, Nearchus, told him a story of a meeting between the Pythagorean Archytas of Tarentum and Herennius Pontius in the presence of Plato.³¹⁷ It is probable that Cicero has picked up a story invented as Tarentine propaganda of the 320s BC, presenting the Samnites in a favourable light to secure their support.³¹⁸ In Eutropius and Ampelius, Gaius Pontius is called Pontius Telesinus.³¹⁹ His identity probably had been assimilated to the Pontius Telesinus who was a general of the Italian allies in the Social War. The name of the *gens* is often attested in Oscan-speaking territories such as Pompeii, Saticula, Sulmo of the Paeligni and Messina in Sicily.³²⁰ One famous distant relative is Pontius Pilatus. Names of other Samnite leaders during the Samnite Wars include Brutulus Papius,³²¹ Gellius Egnatius,³²² Statius Gellius³²³ and Staius Minatius.³²⁴ Caution is called for when using the names of Samnite military leaders during the fourth and third centuries BC as evidence for the *Fasti* of Samnium. Some of them might be fictitious, retrojecting the names of families which played important roles in the period of the Social War, especially the Papii.³²⁵ The idea that these commanders were the generals of one Samnite *touta*, the Samnite tribal state in the fourth century BC, fits well in the model of La Regina.³²⁶ However, we know very little about the political institutions of the Samnites during the Samnite wars. Some of them may have been local leaders. I think therefore that it is inappropriate to treat them as evidence for the political offices of Samnium in the fourth and third centuries BC here.

App. Samn. 4. 4, vir. ill. 30. 1; Oros. 3. 15. 3;

³¹⁷ Cic. Cat. mai. 41

³¹⁸ For more about the Tarentine propaganda see Dench (1995) 53-66.

³¹⁹ Eutrop. 10. 17. 2; Ampelius 20. 10. and 28. 2.

³²⁰ ST Po 1, ST Me 1, 2, 3, ST Cm 28, ST Pg 5. The name might be appearing also in Samnium as *púmp* in ST tSa 9 and 11.

³²¹ Livy 8. 39. 12-14. Also found in tile stamps, see table 1b.

³²² Livy 10. 18. 1; 10. 19. 14; 10. 21. 2. Livy 10. 29. 16. Also found in tile stamps, see table 1b.

³²³ Livy 9. 44. 13.

³²⁴ Livy 10. 20. 13.

³²⁵ Beloch (1926) 128.

2. 6. Conclusions

Literary accounts of the Samnite Wars, the triumphal Fasti and coins with the legend SAUNITAN suggest the existence of an ethnically based Samnite military alliance. Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus mention a general assembly or assemblies (*concilium* and κοινή σύνοδος) probably the council or councils of a Samnite military alliance, along with the leaders of Samnite troops during the wars. It is not explicit in the sources whether the alliance was permanent or formed yearly or on a temporary basis to carry out military campaigns or for defence. The members of this alliance may also have changed from time to time.

The use of the term Samnium in literary sources changed significantly between the fourth and first centuries. During the Samnite Wars it referred to the lands of the members of the ethnic military alliance. The voting tribes and the Augustan regions suggest that by the time of Augustus Samnium denoted only the area of a number of settlements around Bovianum. Roman sources emphasise tribal divisions after the Samnite Wars: the territories of the Hirpini, Caudini and Carracini were separated from the Pentri. The Romans might have encouraged the separate formation of these tribal states. After the Samnite Wars use of the ethnic Samnite was limited to the Pentri. The state of the Pentri yields the largest amount of epigraphic and archaeological evidence for a study of its political system. The epigraphic evidence covers the period between the Samnite Wars and the Social War. The office of *meddix tuticus* appears in a number of locations in Samnium, but is never qualified

³²⁶ La Regina (1989) 339.

by a toponym which would help to define the geographical authority of the office. A study of the tile stamps and inscriptions in stone suggests that the office of the *meddix tuticus* was single and annual, because it was eponymous. It follows that this office was the chief magistracy of the federal state of the Pentri. The vast majority of the epigraphic evidence comes from rural sanctuaries of which some were and some were not linked to towns. Several inscriptions attest *meddices tutici* issuing contracts for building parts of temples and checking the completion of the building work, which implies that sanctuary buildings were under federal control. The sanctuary of Pietrabbondante with its theatre, which may have been used for council meetings, was particularly important as suggested by its abandonment soon after the Social War. The appearance of the senate and possibly another council in inscriptions at Schiavi d'Abruzzo implies that this was a federal senate which could give orders or advice to the *meddix tuticus*. The office of the *censor* was probably also a federal one.

Evidence for the local units of the Pentri state is provided by the local *meddix* of Fagifulae and possibly the *aediles* of Alfedena. The building of the great number of hill-forts required substantial manpower and expertise, and their maintenance and occasional restoration must have been overseen by magistrates. Because of the lack of inscriptions and tile stamps from hill-forts at present we cannot tell whether they were built and maintained by local communities or by the Pentrian state.

I have emphasised that there are broad similarities between the models of Letta and Fracchia and the situation in Samnium, especially as regards the relationship between the fortified centres and the settlement pattern: the population of villages and urban-and pre-urban settlements grew significantly in the vicinity of the fortifications in the period between the Samnite Wars and the Social War. The hill-

fort of Roccagloriosa and some hill-forts in the territory of the Marsi functioned as administrative centres, and the same may have been true at least of Curino and Monte Vairano and perhaps of Capracotta and Monte Pallano. The lack of direct evidence for a connection between the political system and the fortified centres in Samnium prevents us from seeing the extent to which the situations of the three territories, those of the Marsi, the Lucanians and the Samnites, were similar to or different from one another. Further evidence might change this situation.

I therefore support the view put forward by La Regina that the Pentri, that is the Samnites in the post-Hannibalic War sense, constituted one *touta*. Although after the fourth century BC scattered epigraphic evidence suggests that the term *touta* may have been linked with an urban centre and its territory, this cannot be shown in Samnium. I accept the view that rejects the idea that a *touta* was formed from a number of *pagi*. If the *touta* of the Pentri had sub-units in the period of the second century BC, they may have been the pre-urban and urban settlements, headed by a *meddix*, as in the case of Fagifulae, some within hill-forts, such as Monte Vairano and Curino. The emergence of urbanizing settlements, most of which became municipia after the Social War may also support this view.

It must be, however, admitted that the strong emphasis on the *touta* as the fundamental political and administrative unit makes this model static, and does not allow for constitutional changes and developments which may have occurred as a result of the defeat by Rome, the foundation of the colony at Aesernia and the *praefectura* at Alfedena. Changes in the settlement pattern, the growth in the number of rural settlements in the third century BC and the urbanization in the second century BC may also have contributed to changes in the administrative system.

Chapter 3. Capua and the Campani

3. 1. Introduction

The most fundamental difference between the administrative institutions of Samnium and those of the geographical region of Campania is that the administrative system of the latter was based on pre-existing cities. This chapter concentrates on whether there is good evidence for the existence of the so-called Campanian league; the supposed leagues of Nola and Nuceria are discussed in chapters 5 and 6. This question will be looked at through the study of relevant literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence.

The traditional view that the towns of the Campanian plain were united in a confederation or a league under the leadership of Capua has been accepted by scholars ever since it was put forward by Mommsen.³²⁷ Although it is generally agreed that three federations existed in Campania, with their centres at Capua, Nola and Nuceria, the extension of their territories and the dates of their dissolution have been debated. Beloch argued that the Samnite invasion broke up the Etruscan-period league of twelve cities dominated by Capua into three smaller confederations headed by Capua, Nola and Nuceria.³²⁸ The Capuan league consisted of Atella, Calatia, Velecha, Sabatinum, Casilinum, Volturnum, Liternum and Puteoli. Later in his book, Beloch also added Cumae, Acerrae and Suessula to the list.³²⁹ The seat of the leading officer, the *meddix tuticus*, was at Capua, and each town had a *meddix*, inferior to the *meddix tuticus*. The league was dissolved after the Second Punic War.

³²⁷ Mommsen (1860) 335.

³²⁸ Beloch (1879) 11 and 314-20.

³²⁹ Beloch (1879) 316.

Although they suggest that the *meddix tuticus* was a local magistrate, Heurgon, Sartori, Camporeale and Frederiksen also accept the existence of the Capuan league.³³⁰ For Heurgon the league came into existence after the conquest of Capua by the Samnites in 437 or 423 BC. It was dissolved after the First Samnite war, when towns in Campania were bound to Rome by grants of citizenship. Frederiksen accepts that the cities of Campania formed 'a kind of league or confederation', whose member cities managed their own affairs, until it was dissolved in 211 BC during the Second Punic war. None of the four historians mentioned above explained the public institutions of the so-called league.

'The plain round Capua is the most celebrated in all Italy, both for its fertility and beauty, and because it is served by those seaports at which voyagers to Italy from nearly all parts of the world land'; thus Polybius praises the Campanian plain.³³¹ The territory of Capua was among the most fertile lands in the Mediterranean. The city's importance was confirmed by its strategic location at the meeting point of several communication lines: the via Appia ran through the city and it lay at the end of a route that was re-built as *via Latina* in Roman times. The latter road connected the north of Campania with the regions of the river Tiber and the territory of the Faliscans. Capua also controlled the route leading from the mountains to the plain, and from Nola to the north. Furthermore, the city took advantage of the port on the river Volturno, Casilinum, today's Capua.

The ancient city lies under modern Santa Maria Capua Vetere and cannot be excavated, but several necropoleis, situated around the edge of the ancient settlement, have been discovered and provide a considerable amount of information

³³⁰ Heurgon (1942) 116-8, 189-90; Sartori (1953) 17, Camporeale (1956) 36; Frederiksen (1984) 140-1.

about the material culture of the settlement before the arrival of the Samnites.³³² A necropolis found at Sant'Angelo in Formis on the slopes of Mount Tifata suggests that the territory was inhabited continuously from the tenth century BC.³³³ The indigenous peoples of Campania, to whom most ancient sources refer as *Ausoni*, had to face an increasing number of settlers.³³⁴ Cumae, a colony founded by the Greek inhabitants of Pithecussa in the mid-eighth century BC, became the dominant city in Campania and until the fifth century BC directed the economic and cultural relations both of settlements on the coast and of those situated in the inner parts of Campania. The archaeological material of tombs around Capua in this period shows mainly Greek and an increasing Etruscan influence.

3. 2. Historical background

3. 2. 1. Foundation myths

Several ancient sources recount the foundation of Capua. Some relate the name of the city to Capys, who appears in the *Iliad* as the father of Anchises.³³⁵ The earliest is Hecataeus from the middle of the sixth century BC, whose brief note on

³³¹ Polyb. 3. 91.

³³² For necropoleis see Cerchiali (1995) 142 for finds of the so-called 'tomba Dutuit' and p. 144 necropolis of Fornaci. For votive terracottas: the 'Capua preromana' series published from 1965.

³³³ Cerchiali (1995) 41-2.

³³⁴ Ancient sources suggest that large parts of central and southern Italy were occupied by the *Ausoni*: Stat. Silv. 4. 5. 37, Strabo 5. 3. 6 and Pliny NH 10. 95. Some argued for their identification with *Aurunci*, some others with the *Osci* or *Opici*. We have only literary evidence for the existence of this little known ethnic, but attempts have been made to relate them to the pre-Etruscan material culture of Campania.

³³⁵ Hom. Il. 20. 239.

Capua is preserved in Stephanus Byzantinus.³³⁶ This long pre-dates the efforts by Latin authors to find ancestors or founders of cities among the wandering heroes of the Trojan war, and indicates a strong Greek interest in the region. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Remus founded Capua and named it after his great-grandfather, Capys; this ties the earliest history of the city to that of Rome and the Latin towns which were founded by Romulus and Remus.³³⁷

Strabo lists the numerous peoples of the plain from the earliest times, but attributes the foundation of Capua to the Etruscans, who founded twelve cities in the region as a league with Capua as the head.³³⁸ This suspiciously recalls the supposed league of twelve cities in Etruria, and enhances Capua's importance as the capital of this alliance.³³⁹ Velleius Paterculus discusses the possible year of the city's foundation, suggesting that the Etruscans founded Capua in about 800 BC, but he also mentions Cato's opinion that it had existed for about 260 years before the Roman conquest.³⁴⁰ Livy even gives the Etruscan name of the town, Voltturnum, and claims that it was later renamed by the Samnites.³⁴¹ Archaeological remains suggest that the early urban development of Capua was due to the Etruscans, a claim that is accepted by most modern historians, although the question of the precise date has led to unprofitable debate.³⁴²

Attempts by Diodorus Siculus and Livy to derive the name of the city from *campus* seem doubtful because they presuppose the local use of Latin at a very early date. The derivation from the word *caput*, capital, in Strabo, is also dubious and

³³⁶ Hecat (Steph. Byz. 70).

³³⁷ Dion. Hal. 1. 73. 3; Strabo 5. 4. 10.

³³⁸ Strabo 5. 4. 3; Livy 4. 37. 1.

³³⁹ Similar mentions of the Etruscan organization based on twelve cities: Polybius 2. 17; Livy 5. 33. 5, Servius 2. 278 and 8. 845.

³⁴⁰ Vell. Pat. 1. 7. It is not clear which conquest Cato is thinking of: it may be the occupation of 211 BC, in which case the city would have been founded in 471 BC; if however he refers to the beginning of the Samnite Wars, it would go back to the early sixth century BC.

³⁴¹ Livy 4. 37. 1.

reflects the claim that Capua was the chief city of the area.³⁴³ The modern theory that the word Capua comes from the Etruscan word for falcon, *capus* in Latin, has some linguistic foundations, but one may wonder whether this similarity is not just mere coincidence.³⁴⁴ Bonfante's idea that the name of the city proves that a group of Illyrians lived in the region is not convincing.³⁴⁵ Livy claims that Capua was renamed by the Samnites after their leader, Capys, but this is dubious in the light of the reference in Hecataeus, which proves that the city was called Capua in the mid-sixth century, long before the arrival of the Samnites.

The foundation stories of cities and populations were directed by ideological or political reasons. Ancient sources, almost all dating from a later period, sought to provide Capua with famous ancestors and a long, prestigious history, all paying tribute to Capua's importance, which the city achieved by control of the most fertile lands in Italy.

3. 2. 2. The Samnite takeover

The date and circumstances of the beginning of the domination of Capua by Samnite settlers are unclear. Under the year 438 BC, Diodorus Siculus notes: 'In Italy, during this year, the nation (ἔθνος) of the Campani was formed, deriving their name from the fertility of the plain about them'.³⁴⁶ Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus present us with a different picture. Livy under the year 423 BC records the occupation of Capua, an Etruscan town at the time, by military force by the

³⁴² On the debate of when Capua was founded see Sacchi (2002) n. 85.

³⁴³ Diod. Sic. 12. 31. 1.

³⁴⁴ Alessio (1992) 149-54.

³⁴⁵ Bonfante (1992) 91-3.

Samnites.³⁴⁷ Dionysius's passage, an imaginative speech by Roman soldiers stationed in Capua during the Samnite wars, offers a similar picture: the *Campani*, guests of the Etruscans, betrayed their hosts, slew the men of the city and took their wives, houses, cities and lands.³⁴⁸ As background we could imagine the migration of small groups of Samnites from the Central Apennines, who were accepted into the Capuan urban community or settled in Capuan territory, and lived together with or under the dominant Etruscan element for a certain period of time, until they became numerous enough to take control, whether peacefully or by force. A terminus ante quem is provided by the agreement of the ancient sources that in 421/0 BC the Samnite *Campani* attacked Cumae with a strong army.³⁴⁹ The city was looted, the citizens were reduced into slavery, and many were killed.

The use of the word *Campanus* in Greek and Latin sources is complex. First, the substantive (and hence adjective) *Campanus* in the overwhelming majority of the ancient sources refers to the inhabitants of the city of Capua and its civic territory, the *ager Campanus*.³⁵⁰ Other cities of the region, Naples, Nola and Nuceria, were independent communities and the substantive did not apply to them. There is a strong relation between the name of Capua and the substantive *Campanus*: coins struck between 415 and 405 BC show the legends KAMPIANO, KAIPIIANOΣ, KAIPIIANOΙ and KAMPIANOΣ, while those minted during the Second Punic War

³⁴⁶ Diod. Sic. 12. 31.1.

³⁴⁷ Livy 4. 37. 1.

³⁴⁸ Dion. Hal. 15. 3. 4.

³⁴⁹ Livy 4. 44. 12; Dion. Hal. 12. 76. 4.

³⁵⁰ Livy 7. 30. 6: 'We Campanians, ..., are inferior neither in the splendour of our city, nor yet in the fertility of our soil, to any people..'; 7. 30. 19, 7. 31. 11; and numerous other examples, Vell. Pat. 1. 1. 14. and Val. Max. 5. 1. 5. The passage in Diod. Sic. (12. 31. 1, studied later) which mentions the foundation of the 'Campani nation' clearly refers to the city of Capua.. Strabo also uses the ethnic in the same way: Strabo 5. 4. 13. For a similar argument see Rutter (1971) 55-61, especially 59-61.

show KATIV.³⁵¹ Furthermore, the ethnic also appears as *kapu* in Oscan inscriptions dating from the third century BC.³⁵² Capua was perhaps originally called Campua, which might have rapidly changed in Greek and Oscan to Capua. Second, the *Campani* appear in the accounts of the Latin, Samnite and Hannibalic wars, possibly to denote the army of a population larger than that of the civic territory of the city of Capua, perhaps members of a military alliance. Third, the name Campania appears in Greek and Roman writers from the second century BC to denote the geographical region, including coastal as well as inland cities.³⁵³

Apart from Capua, several other Campanian communities minted coins in the period between 420 and 380 BC. The following ethnics appear on coins: Cumae, Neapolis, Hyria, Nola, Fistelia, Allifae and Fenserni. Cumae, Neapolis, Nola, Capua and Allifae were independent urban-based communities, but the locations of Hyria, Fistelia and the Fenserni are unknown. The vast majority of the coins of these communities bear a man-faced bull as reverse type with wide variations of themes on their obverses. Rutter established die-transferences between the coins of Capua and those of Cumae and Neapolis, which were two well-known centres of minting during the fifth century BC.³⁵⁴ Rutter argued that the Samnite occupation of Cumae resulted in the decrease of its coin output and later probably the transferral of its mint to Naples around 420 BC, as changes in the Neapolitan iconography of that period suggest.³⁵⁵ It is therefore probable that the coins were minted at Naples for Capua. Rutter also found that the Capuan coinage shared dies with most of the coins of other

³⁵¹ Frederiksen (1984) 138; Rutter (2001) nr. 476-8 and 479-510.

³⁵² ST Cp 33, 34 and 35. They will be studied in section 3. 3.

³⁵³ Diod. Sic. 16. 90. 2 or Livy 8. 1.9 just to mention a few.

³⁵⁴ Rutter (1979) 82.

³⁵⁵ Rutter (1979) 96.

Campanian issues as well, thus suggesting that the coins of all the above-mentioned communities might have been minted at Naples.³⁵⁶

3. 2. 3. The coming of Rome

Roman intervention led to changes in Capua's political position from the mid-fourth century to 211 BC. The *ager Campanus* was gradually divided and eventually came under Rome's control. The *Campani* appear as the initial cause of the hostilities between Rome and the Samnites conventionally called the Samnite Wars. Livy claims that the Romans accepted a *deditio* (surrender) from the Capuans in 343 BC, when they asked for help against incursions by their kinsmen, the Samnites of the highlands.³⁵⁷ This act of *deditio* has long been debated and no consensus has been reached. *Deditio* means the handing over of the land, properties and inhabitants of a city, usually after a military defeat. Several scholars have rejected the idea of a total and unconditional surrender of Capua to Rome, and argue that the two cities must have committed themselves only to a *foedus* (alliance) in 343 BC.³⁵⁸ Frederiksen, however, defends the historicity of Capua's surrender. He argues that one should not regard the *deditio* as the ancient equivalent of unconditional surrender, but rather as a temporary act, whereby a city or population handed over the right to deal with its future to another, more powerful state.³⁵⁹ Frederiksen did not explicitly state whether the surrendering state would have been incorporated into the Roman state and its sovereignty extinguished, or whether it would have been left independent. He

³⁵⁶ Rutter (1979) 91-102.

³⁵⁷ Livy 7. 31. 1-4.

³⁵⁸ Beloch (1926) 369-72; Heurgon (1942) 171-77; Salmon (1967) 197.

³⁵⁹ Frederiksen (1984) 188.

provides a long list of instances where cities or populations surrendered themselves and sought protection against military aggression, but this does not mean that *deditio* actually happened in Capua's case. First of all, as scholars have pointed out previously, such an act would be out of place in the flow of events: Capua allegedly made a *deditio* yet within two years was allied to the Latins against Rome in the Latin Wars. It is probable that Livy (or one or more earlier annalists) invented the *deditio* of Capua to defend Rome against accusations that it unlawfully attacked the Samnites, to whom it had been allied since 354 BC. Frederiksen also argues that the Capuans surrendered in order to compel Rome to defend them, because it was reluctant to accept their *foedus*. However, the Romans are said to have refused to accept the *deditio* of the Sidicini soon after, although their situation was identical to that of Capua.³⁶⁰ They were attacked by the Samnites and sought Rome's help; instead, the Latins accepted the alliance of the Sidicini. I therefore agree with those who argue that Capua probably made an alliance with Rome rather than surrendered to it.

The settlement after the Latin War constitutes a milestone in Roman foreign policy and had a big effect on relations between Capua and Rome. In 341 BC Capua joined the so-called rebels in the first part of the Latin War and the Romans were compelled to ask for Samnite help. However, the Capuan aristocracy, who provided the cavalry, refused to fight against Rome in the first part of the war. In the second part of the war Capua withdrew entirely. The peace settlement that followed stipulated that the *ager Falernus* was to be confiscated and distributed among the Roman *plebs*.³⁶¹ Sources mention two peace settlements: the first was drawn up following the surrender of the Latins and Campanians in 340 BC, the second in 338

³⁶⁰ Livy 8. 2. 5-7.

³⁶¹ Livy 8. 11. 13.

BC, after the final defeat of the Latins at Pedum. Both affected Capua. Livy says that 1600 Campanian *equites* were granted Roman citizenship as a reward and their fellow citizens were compelled to pay a tax or levy (*vectigal*) to them.³⁶² Livy suggests that all the inhabitants of Capua were given Roman citizenship without suffrage in the second settlement.³⁶³ This is confirmed by other ancient sources and is accepted by historians, although the earlier reward to the 1600 cavalrymen has caused debates among scholars.³⁶⁴ The end of the Latin Wars left Capua with a blend of obligations to and benefits from Rome: it became a *socius* of Rome, lost some of its lands and was obliged to provide Rome with soldiers. The citizenship without a vote, however, allowed the right of commerce and intermarriage with Romans, while the political and legal institutions of Capua were maintained and permitted to function.

The last important change in Capua's position occurred at the end of the Second Punic War. After the battle of Cannae, in 216 BC, Capua joined Hannibal's side, because they thought Hannibal could win and in order to evade its growing military obligation towards Rome.³⁶⁵

It is now accepted that a second phase of the Capuan coinage can be linked to this period.³⁶⁶ Numerous bronze and some gold and silver coins have been found bearing the legend KAPV, clearly referring to Capua. The cities of Atella and Calatia also

³⁶² Livy mentions that the grant of citizenship and the regular payment to the *equites* were recorded on a bronze tablet placed in the Temple of Castor and Pollux, protectors of cavalrymen, in the Forum Romanum: Livy 8. 11. 16.

³⁶³ Livy 8. 11. 16; Livy 8. 14. 10.

³⁶⁴ Frederiksen (1984) 191-8 points out that by the time of the Punic wars the *equites* had only the same rights as the rest of the Capuans and there is not further mention of the *vectigal*. Frederiksen therefore concludes that the 1600 cavalrymen were honoured with personal grants of citizenship and a one-off gift. Sherwin-White (1973) 40 raises that possibility that they were granted the right to Roman citizenship by migrating to Rome.

³⁶⁵ Livy 23. 7. 1-2.

³⁶⁶ Rutter (2001) nr. 479-510.

produced large amounts of coin, which, on the basis of iconographic similarities, have been dated to the same period.³⁶⁷ Crawford notes that most of these coins were overstruck Roman coins.³⁶⁸ These cities, Crawford argues, having been granted citizenship without suffrage, were part of the Roman state, making it unlikely that they could have overstruck Roman coins before their revolt.

The city surrendered to Rome after a long siege in 211 BC, and was punished by the loss of its independence. The appointment of *praefecti* for Capua, resident Roman officials, began in 318 BC, according to Livy, as part of the terms imposed on Capua by the *praetor* L. Furius. Roman intervention, Livy says, was requested by the Capuans themselves at a time of internal discord as a remedy for their ‘disease’.³⁶⁹ Festus gives a list of ten *praefecturae* which were established in Campania but there is no indication of their date.³⁷⁰ Sartori has argued that in 318 BC four officers were sent to Capua, whose authority was later extended to Cumae and soon after to other communities. They were appointed regularly to 211 BC. Their function was to dispense justice among the Roman citizens of the *Falerna tribus*.³⁷¹ Capua was allowed to maintain its own Oscan institutions. Sartori suggested that what Festus refers to is the establishment of ten *praefecturae* in Campania in 211 BC. In Capua, this office took over civic administration after the abolition of its own institutions. Sherwin-White and Frederiksen, however, did not accept this reconstruction of events.³⁷² Both argued that Livy does not imply that *praefecti* were sent out regularly from 318 BC, but that they were a short-term appointment to

³⁶⁷ Crawford (1985) 62-5.

³⁶⁸ For overstrikes see Crawford (1985) appendix D 336-7 and Crawford (1974) 105.

³⁶⁹ Livy 9. 20. 5.

³⁷⁰ Festus (L. 262) Capua, Cuma, Casilinum, Volturnum, Liternum, Puteoli, Acerrae, Suessula, Atella and Calatium.

³⁷¹ Sartori (1953) 165-71. See previous bibliography.

supervise the introduction of new regulations following the acceptance of the city into *civitas sine suffragio*.³⁷³ Sherwin-White also pointed out that our sources do not attest Roman interference in Capuan internal affairs. Both scholars agreed that the passage in Festus refers to the completely new situation after 211 BC, when four *praefecti* were sent out from Rome every year, who were elected officials numbered among minor Roman officers. A passage in Velleius Paterculus seems to confirm this.³⁷⁴ The importance of the *praefectura* in Capua withered with the Social War, especially with the establishment of a Roman colony at Capua after Caesar's legislation of 59 BC. Perhaps after this date the title became honorific, until its abolition in 13 BC.³⁷⁵

3. 2. 4. Territory

It seems that Capua was a leading city in the region already before the Samnite conquest, but it is impossible to determine how large its territory was. Roman and Greek sources imply that before the Samnite Wars the civic territory of Capua included the *ager Falernus* as far as *Mons Massicus* and the *ager Stellas* as far as the lands that belonged to Cales on the east side of the river Volturnus, which constituted the border between Cales and Capua (see map III). On the west side of the river the large plain, called the *ager Campanus* in Latin, formed the core of the city's territory. The limits of this land can be fixed with fair precision. With the

³⁷² Frederiksen (1984) 228-9, Sherwin-White (1973) 43-5.

³⁷³ The view, which probably derives from De Sanctis, that the activities of *praefecti* sent to Capua in 318 BC were extended also to Cumae, looks mysterious. I could find no literary evidence to support this argument.

³⁷⁴ Vell. Pat. 2. 44. 4.

³⁷⁵ Cass. Dio 54. 26. 7.

rapidly diminishing power of Cumae during the fifth century BC, Capua took over most of the lands south of the river Clanus as far as the sea. The sanctuary of Hamae, mentioned by Livy under 215 BC as being situated three miles from Cumae, probably lay on the border between the land of Cumae and that of Capua.³⁷⁶ The *ager Phlegreus* was the most fertile part of the *ager Campanus* and also included Mons Gaurus.³⁷⁷ The Roman consuls later demarcated it by two military roads leading from Cumae and Puteoli to Capua. The Colles Leucogaei formed the boundary between the land of Naples and the *ager Campanus*. Where the south-eastern border of the *ager Campanus* lay is not easy to say. By the mid-fourth century Calatia, Suessula, Acerrae and Cales seem to have become independent with their own territories. These communities grew perhaps on the edge of the *ager Campanus* to guard routes leading south of Capua and towards the interior of the peninsula. Atella emerges as a separate settlement before the late fourth century, but the extent of its land is still disputed. To the north, the sanctuary of Diana Tifatina, Capua's main extraurban sanctuary, was provided with lands for its maintenance, which naturally were part of the *ager Campanus*. The sanctuary, situated on the Mons of Tifata, which in itself constituted a natural northern border to the territory of Capua, was probably built near the border of the territories of Capua and Caiatia.

The Romans first annexed part of the *ager Campanus* by detaching the *ager Falernus* after the Latin Wars in 340 BC, when it was distributed among the *plebs*, probably by virgation allocation (see map IV).³⁷⁸ The protection of the territory was entrusted to the Roman colony established near Cales, where 2500 colonists were

³⁷⁶ Livy 23. 35. Frederiksen (1984) 37 identifies it with today's Torre S. Severino, close to the ancient Liternum.

³⁷⁷ Pliny NH 18. 111. suggests that the *agri Leborini* were called the Phlegraean fields by the Greeks.

³⁷⁸ Livy 8. 11. 13-4. Taylor (1960) 56.

settled in 334 BC.³⁷⁹ But the Falerna voting tribe was established only in 318 BC. Guadagno suggested that the date Livy gives for annexation of the *ager Falernus* is too early because the area was isolated and exposed.³⁸⁰ The colony of Fregellae was established to guard the inland route from Rome in 328 BC, but it was soon captured by the Samnites. The coastal routes were secured by the colony of Anxur founded in 329 BC, Fundi and Formiae around 327 BC, and Suessa Aurunca in 313 BC. The *via Appia* was laid out as far as Formiae by 312, and the foundation of the colonies of Minturnae and Sinuessa in 295 BC was probably related to the continuation of the road as far as Capua. The centuriation of the *ager Falernus* is determined by the route of the *via Appia*, so it cannot have taken place before the last decade of the fourth century BC.³⁸¹ These reasons suggest that the division of the *ager Falernus* occurred probably later than Livy says it did. Perhaps even the creation of the Falerna voting tribe needs to be downdated until after the centuriation of the land. The *ager Stellas*, to the east of the *ager Falernus*, remained part of the *ager Campanus*.³⁸² The centuriation of the *ager* of Cales was clearly posterior to the building of the *via Latina* and the extension of the *via Appia* as far as Capua. These roads determined the alignment of the centuriation of this territory.

Recent studies have examined relations between drainage systems, centuriation and land management of the *ager Campanus*, which was subject to flooding.³⁸³ Considerable parts of it were marshy and unable to be cultivated in antiquity, especially along the river Clanius. The coastline was scattered with lagoons and the neighbourhood around Liternum was infamous for its marshland.³⁸⁴ The *campi*

³⁷⁹ Livy 9. 20. 6.

³⁸⁰ Guadagno (1987) 17-18.

³⁸¹ Guadagno (1987) 18-24.

³⁸² Livy 9. 44. 5 mentioned Samnite incursions 'in campum Stellatem agri Campani' in 305 BC.

³⁸³ Monaco (2002) 87-123.

³⁸⁴ Livy 22. 16. 4, Val. Max. 5. 3. 2, Sil. Ital. 8. 530-1.

Leborini show signs of canalization, while the 'Greek ditch' was a canal, and there were also canals to channel water to Lake Licola from the nearby plain. Most of the *ager Falernus*, especially near the rivers Savus and Volturnus, was uncultivable due to excess water. The centuriation of the *ager Falernus* was closely related to the drainage of its wetlands, because the canals that lead water to the river Savus run along the lines of the centuriation. That the *ager Falernus* was not extensively cultivated before its Roman occupation is suggested by its lack of any urban centre prior to the Roman foundation of Forum Popilii by the consul of 316 BC or, more likely, the consul of 132 BC, who also built the road from Capua to Rhegium, the *via Popilia*.³⁸⁵

After Capua's surrender to Rome in 211 BC, the Roman senate decided that the *ager Campanus* should be made *ager publicus populi Romani*, and that the inhabitants should be enslaved, although in the end only some were.³⁸⁶ To raise some revenue from the territory, the proconsul Q. Fulvius Flaccus leased out some lands for a tithe of the crop in 210 BC.³⁸⁷ In 209 BC the senate and the people voted to let the censors lease out the *ager Campanus* on longer contracts.³⁸⁸ In 205 BC, the lands between the 'Greek ditch' and the sea were sold by the *quaestores* to provide funds for the wars against Carthage;³⁸⁹ the lands around the sanctuary of Diana Tifatina were sold in 199 BC.³⁹⁰ However, it seems that many Campanians remained in possession of their farms, partly, perhaps, to maintain production of grain for Rome.³⁹¹ Three small colonies were founded on the coast, those of Volturnum,

³⁸⁵ Guadagno (1987) 29.

³⁸⁶ Livy 26. 16. 7, 26. 34. 2- 13 and Vell. Pat. 2. 44. 4. For general discussion see Rathbone (2003).

³⁸⁷ Livy 27. 3. 1.

³⁸⁸ Livy 27. 11. 8.

³⁸⁹ Livy 28. 46. 4-6.

³⁹⁰ Livy 32. 7. 3.

³⁹¹ Livy 28. 46. 6 and Cic. De Leg. Agr. 2. 31. 84.

Liternum and Puteoli in 194 BC;³⁹² the lands for Volturnum and Liternum were carved out of the *ager Campanus*.

It seems, however, that first serious attempt to implement the scheme of 211 and 209 BC was only made in 173 BC, when the consul L. Postumius demarcated *ager publicus* from private land, because much public land had fallen into private hands.³⁹³ Rathbone argues that Postumius laid out the centuriation grid of 200-iugera blocks, which was re-used by the Gracchan land-commissioners, and is still visible in Campania.³⁹⁴ Although the censors were able to lease out some lands in the following year, in 165 BC the senate had to instruct the praetor P. Lentulus to buy back public land voluntarily from its occupiers.³⁹⁵ Lentulus acquired 50,000 *iugera* and had a bronze map drawn up of the land divisions, which was placed in the *Atrium Libertatis*, thus creating the first Roman public record of a land division. These divisions of the *ager Campanus*, with slight amendments by the Gracchi and Sulla, were altered only by Caesar, who distributed most of it among poor citizens, thereby making the land private property. The process of privatisation was completed by the veteran settlements of Caesar and Octavian.³⁹⁶

3. 2. 5. Campanian magistrates and assemblies in Roman literary sources

³⁹² The foundation (Livy 34. 45. 1) was carried out as it was previously agreed, mentions Livy 32. 29. 3-4. Frederiksen argues that the foundation of these colonies meant their withdrawal from the *ten praefecturae*: Frederiksen (1984) 269. Frederiksen (1984) 270 also thinks it possible that the old inhabitants of Puteoli were retained in the *praefectura*, while the colonists were subject to the jurisdiction of the *duoviri* of the colony.

³⁹³ Livy 42. 1. 6.

³⁹⁴ Rathbone (2003) 156.

³⁹⁵ Cic. De Leg. Agr. 2. 30. 82 and Gran. Licin 28. 29-37 (Teubner)

³⁹⁶ Rathbone (2003) 156.

This section attempts to draw a picture of the political institutions of Capua on the basis of the literary evidence. The next section brings in the epigraphic evidence.

The arrival of the Samnites ended the old political system at Capua associated with the Etruscans. The Samnites brought their own administrative institutions with them, but adjusted them to the reality that Capua was an urbanized settlement and centre of a large territory before their arrival. The city's territory was scattered with small villages and farmsteads, occasionally documented by archaeology, which did not grow large enough to become independent centres themselves and therefore were under the administrative system of Capua. Capua became a *socius* of Rome after the Latin Wars, but was allowed to govern itself according to its own customs and laws.

Livy clearly identifies the *meddix tuticus* as the *summus magistratus*, the leading office, of the Campani.³⁹⁷ Elsewhere he mentions the office of the *praetor Campanus*, by which, as the context shows, he again means the *meddix tuticus*.³⁹⁸ In an unclear passage in the context of the Second Punic war, Ennius says that *summus ibi capitur meddix occiditur alter*.³⁹⁹ This prompted scholars to argue that the office of the *meddix tuticus* was collegial.⁴⁰⁰ Skutsch, however, pointed out that the word *alter* in Latin could mean not only 'other' but a 'second one, another'.⁴⁰¹ In that case, the *meddix tuticus*, the single *summus magistratus*, would have had at least one lower *meddix* subordinate to him. This is compatible with the passage in Festus '*meddix apud Oscos nomen magistratus est*'.⁴⁰² A qualifying adjective would specify his rank and authority. The use of the title *meddix* in the probably second century BC Tabula

³⁹⁷ Livy 23. 35. 13; 24. 19. 2; 26. 6. 13.

³⁹⁸ Livy 23. 7. 8.

³⁹⁹ Ennius Ann. 8. 289.

⁴⁰⁰ See Chapter 1. 2 History of scholarship

⁴⁰¹ Skutsch (1986) 467-468.

⁴⁰² Festus p. 110. 19. L

Bantina, an Oscan constitution, is similar. It meant ‘magistrate’ in general, but it must be pointed out that this text draws on the Roman practice.⁴⁰³

Occasional references suggest that the office of *meddix tuticus* was annual: *Cn. Magius Atellanus, qui in eo anno meddix tuticus erat;*⁴⁰⁴ *medix tuticus, qui summus magistratus apud Campanos est, eo anno Seppius Loesius erat.*⁴⁰⁵ Sources mention only one Campanian *meddix tuticus* at a time, which supports that idea that the office was single. It is therefore possible to reconstruct the *fasti* of Campanian *meddices tutici* for a few years during the Second Punic War:

217 BC: Pacuvius Calavius (*summus magistratus*)⁴⁰⁶

216 BC: Marius Blossius (*praetor Campanus*)⁴⁰⁷

215 BC: Marius Alfius (*meddix tuticus, summus magistratus*)⁴⁰⁸

214 BC: Cn. Magius Atellanus (*meddix tuticus*)⁴⁰⁹

211 BC: Seppius Loesius (*meddix tuticus*)⁴¹⁰

The practice of using the names of the chief magistrates to denote the year was standard practice in the non-monarchic states of the Greco-Roman world.

Personal names that occur in sources relating to Capua can also help. The *cognomina* of Cn. Magius Atellanus and Vestia Oppia Atellana indicate that they were from Atella.⁴¹¹ The fact that someone from Atella could become *meddix tuticus* of Capua can be explained in several ways. The most popular is that Atella was part of the so-called Capuan league.⁴¹² Alternatively, Frederiksen suggested that Magius

⁴⁰³ ST Lu 1, Crawford (1996) 271-292, no. 13.

⁴⁰⁴ Livy 24. 19. 2.

⁴⁰⁵ Livy 26. 6. 13.

⁴⁰⁶ Livy 23. 2. 3.

⁴⁰⁷ Livy 23. 7. 8.

⁴⁰⁸ Livy 23. 35. 17.

⁴⁰⁹ Livy 24. 19. 2.

⁴¹⁰ Livy 26. 6. 13.

⁴¹¹ Vestia Oppia Atellana: Livy 26. 33. 8.

⁴¹² Frederiksen (1984) 141.

had been granted Capuan citizenship. His family had probably migrated from Atella and the name of that settlement was preserved in their *cognomen*.

Little is said about the functions of the *meddices tutici*. They mostly appear as leaders of the army. However, on one occasion Marius Blossius appears in a political role, when he summoned the popular assembly of Capua.⁴¹³ The accounts of the revolt of Capua from Rome in 216 BC give us an insight into the workings of the internal politics in the city.⁴¹⁴ Livy mentions that Capua had a *senatus*.⁴¹⁵ It seems to have been common practice among Oscan speaking communities, at least later, to borrow the Latin term for their leading council as is shown by other examples from Southern Italy.⁴¹⁶ Frederiksen has argued that a passage in Livy describing the political crisis at Capua following the battle of Cannae suggests that the members of the senate were elected.⁴¹⁷ Livy says that the populace wanted to join Hannibal's side, kill the members of the senate and give the power to an *ex-meddix tuticus*, Pacuvius Calavius. Calavius solved the crisis by proposing that the people should decide whether each member was worthy of belonging to the senate. Since the people could not find better members than the old ones, the senate remained in place. All sides were satisfied with the result. Later Calavius was the leader of the faction that made Capua join the Carthaginians.⁴¹⁸ The Capuan leading classes were loyal to the Romans because of intermarriage and other connections, while the people were keen to revolt, especially since Hannibal was already in the region. Similar events are recorded in other cities and towns of Southern Italy. The credibility of the passage is

⁴¹³ Livy 23. 7. 9.

⁴¹⁴ Livy 23. 2-10.

⁴¹⁵ Livy 23. 2. 2.

⁴¹⁶ ST Sa 9 (Pietrabbondante) ST Cm1 A8, B9 (Nola and Abella).

⁴¹⁷ Frederiksen (1984) 141. Livy 23. 2-10.

⁴¹⁸ Livy 23. 8. 3.

undermined, however, by several factors: apart from the copious imaginative speeches, the text is laden with Livy's political prejudices towards Capua and Calavius. Several members of the *gens* Calavia, as will be discussed later, were noted for their anti-Roman behaviour. Whatever its historicity, this passage illustrates actions taken in a time of political crisis rather than general practice in Capua. Another passage suggests that membership of the senate depended on wealth and birth.⁴¹⁹ It is plausible that it included the *ex-meddices tutici* and other ex-magistrates as well. For what it is worth, no other ancient source suggests that the membership of this council was not for life.

Ancient sources imply that Capua had a popular assembly. Two references in Livy suggest that the assembly was summoned by the *meddix tuticus*.⁴²⁰ Cicero refers to the *consilium commune*, dissolved by the Romans after the Second Punic War, probably meaning the popular assembly rather than the senate.⁴²¹ Diodorus Siculus mentions that the decision to side with Hannibal was taken in the ἐκκλησία κοινῇ.⁴²²

It is possible that Hannibal's presence in Southern Italy triggered democratic movements in some cities. In 211 BC, Seppius Loesius, a citizen of humble birth and little fortune, obtained the office of *meddix tuticus*,⁴²³ Livy says that, in the city stricken by hunger and war, those who were eligible for office by birth refused to run for it. This also indicates that the office of the *meddix tuticus* was chosen by popular election at least by the late third century BC.

⁴¹⁹ Livy 23 3. 11.

⁴²⁰ Livy 23. 3. 1 (Pacuvius Calavius *ex meddix tuticus*) and 23. 7. 9 (Marius Blossius *praetor Campanus*).

⁴²¹ Cic. De leg. Agr. 1. 19: 'In Capua, our ancestors abolished the magistrates, the senate, the popular assembly (*consilium commune*) and all the marks of the republic, leaving nothing else in the city except the empty name of Capua.'

⁴²² Diod. Sic. 26. 10.

⁴²³ Livy 26. 6. 13 *loco obscuro tenuique fortuna ortus*

The descriptions of the political institutions of Capua in ancient sources, particularly those of the senate and the popular assembly, seem to suggest that they were concerned with the affairs of the city of Capua rather than of a federation of communities.

3. 3. Administrative institutions in the epigraphic evidence

The aim of this section is to see how the epigraphic evidence complements or alters the general picture of the ancient literary sources about the administrative institutions of Capua in the independent Samnite period of the city.

The only Oscan inscriptions of Capua come from a funerary context. They are traditionally called *iúvilas* inscriptions after the word that occurs in most of them. The inscriptions are dedications on behalf of individuals or *gentes*, and advertise or record sacrifices held during certain public or private holidays. Most of the inscriptions come from the necropolis of fondo Patturelli, an estate outside the eastern gate of Capua, south of the Appian way.⁴²⁴ A smaller number seem to have been found at a different location, fondo Tirone.⁴²⁵ This is another estate north of Capua where it is thought there was another necropolis and a sanctuary. The typology of the inscriptions from the fondo Tirone is the same as those of the fondo Patturelli, but owing to the unclear circumstances of the discovery of the inscriptions it is doubtful whether they came from the fondo Tirone at all.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁴ The owner of this land, Carlo Patturelli, discovered traces of an ancient sanctuary by chance in 1845. A monumental altar and a substantial body of tufa statues, terracotta antefixes and statues, inscriptions etc. were found. Excavations began in 1873, but were not well documented, and most of the finds were lost or destroyed. It soon became clear that the sanctuary was surrounded by several altars and that it stood at the centre of a necropolis. This site is known as the fondo Patturelli, but no traces of the necropolis and the sanctuary are visible today.

⁴²⁵ ST Cp 20, ST Cp 21, ST Cp 22, ST Cp 23, and ST Cp 24,

⁴²⁶ I am grateful for this piece of information to Prof. Crawford (see his forthcoming article).

We have twenty-six *iúvilas* inscriptions altogether, sixteen of which are made of terracotta, ten of tufa.⁴²⁷ It is believed that the tufa inscriptions are more recent than the terracotta ones. Conway, on the basis of phonetic and morphological differences and changes in the forms of letters, divided the inscriptions into three chronological groups. He compared these groups to the forms of letters on legends of coins minted for Capua, Atella and Calatia, apparently between 268 and 211 BC. Thus Conway argued that the earliest group of inscriptions was inscribed well before 268 BC, probably in the second half of the fourth century BC, the second group not long before 268, and the most recent group soon after this date, in the second half of the third century BC. Buck argued that the earliest inscriptions, the ones which lack the *í* and *ú*, were inscribed at the end of the fourth century BC, while most of the inscriptions come from the third century BC⁴²⁸. Heurgon and Franchi de Bellis accepted Conway's groups, with slight corrections, and although they found it difficult to date the groups, they made no drastic changes to Conway's absolute chronology.⁴²⁹ The inscriptions can be therefore divided into the following chronological groups:⁴³⁰

1. second part of fourth century BC: ST Cp 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19.
2. end of fourth century, beginning of third century BC: ST Cp 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 35.
3. Third century: ST Cp 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34.

⁴²⁷ Terracotta ones: ST Cp 8-25, tufa ones are: ST Cp 27-35.

⁴²⁸ Buck (1904) 247.

⁴²⁹ Heurgon (1942a) 39-46 cites more recent studies, which suggest that the Capua, Atella and Calatia minted coins probably only after they revolted from Rome, between 216 and 211, which makes it difficult to date Conway's groups. Heurgon argued that the forms of letters of the oldest inscriptions resemble coins minted by Fistelia from the first half of the fourth century. On some of the terracotta tiles by the side of the text female heads were stamped. Heurgon points out the similarities between these heads and antefixes from the mid-fourth century BC.

⁴³⁰ Franchi de Bellis (1981) 28.

The meaning of the word *iúvilas* is disputed. A commonly accepted view is that the term is etymologically related to Jupiter. Both words derive from the common Indo-European stem *dieu-*. The form *diúvila* appears in the terracotta inscriptions, thought to be older; the word *iúvila* is used in the later texts on tufa. *Iúvilas* inscriptions were set up for one person or several members of the same *gens*, and in one case a *iúvila* was put up for Jupiter Flagius.⁴³¹ Inscriptions occasionally refer to their location: by the gates, in the (sacred) grove, in the vicinity, which suggests that the *iúvilas* was a separate object and not the inscription itself.⁴³² Bücheler believed that they were ‘*res ad Iovem pertinentes*’, while Altheim went further in suggesting that they were images of Jupiter on *stelae*, like those of Zeus Meilichios at the sanctuary of Selinunte.⁴³³ Heurgon argued that they were votive statues and Pisani thought that they were altars.⁴³⁴ Franchi de Bellis considered them to have been little columns or *stelae*.⁴³⁵

The inscriptions on terracotta form a coherent group. The texts were often inscribed on both sides of the *stelae*, and on all the inscriptions which survive complete figures appear next to the texts: a head of female divinity, one or more cakes and a boar. One of the terracotta inscriptions mentions a magistrate, ST Cp 24; I will return to the others in section 3. 4. on the elite families of Capua, with the one tufa inscription, ST Cp 26, which does not mention a magistrate.

The following ten *iúvilas* inscriptions, all but one tufa, mention magistrates of Capua: ST Cp 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35. Their content follows the

⁴³¹ ST Cp 25.

⁴³² ST Cp 24 and 35.

⁴³³ Bücheler (1874) 609 and Altheim (1931) 64.

⁴³⁴ Heurgon (1942a) 47-53 and Pisani (1953) 74.

same structure: the name or names of the beneficiary or beneficiaries of the sacrifice, the date or holiday during which the celebration was or will be held, and a reference to the presence or office of a magistrate.

Four inscriptions do not give the name of the official, only his title:

1. ST Cp 31, Ve 86, Co 113, Bu 29, Pi 25a, FdB 20, He 16.

úpíl(eís). vi(bieís). pak(ieís) ²tantrnnaiúm ³iúvilas. sakraṇ⁴nas. eídúís. ma
⁵merttiaís. pún ⁶meddís. [k]apv(ans). ad ⁷fust iúvi(l)ass. ne ⁸ssimas štaef
⁹fu(fe)d sakriss. sa¹⁰krafir. ayt ¹¹últiumam ker¹²ssnaís

The *iúvilas* of Opillius, Vibius, (and) Paccius Tanterneus must be dedicated at the Ides of Marners. When the *meddix Campanus* is present, he should set up the *iúvilas* sacrifices [to be sacrificed] with animal offerings, but the last one with cereals.

2. ST Cp 32, Ve 87, Co 114, Bu 30, Pi 25 b, FdB 21, He 17.

úpíl(eís). vi(bieís). pak(ieís). ²tantrnnaiúm ³iúvil(ú). sakrann(ú) ⁴púmperiais
⁵súll---aís ⁶pún. medd(íkúm). pís ⁷num(nud) verehı(as) ⁸(ad)fust. sakrid
⁹sakrafir

The *iúvila* of Opilius, Vibius, (and) Pacius Tanterneus must be dedicated during the solemn (?) *pomperiae*. When any of the *meddices* will be present representing the *vereiia*, (the *iúvila*) is to be sacrificed with animal offerings.

⁴³⁵ Franchi de Bellis (1981) 44.

3. ST Cp 33, Ve 88 A, Co 117a, Bu 31a, FdB 17B, He 22a. On the same stone as ST Cp 34.

[- ?- sakra]íťír ²kas[ít. damsén]n ³ias. pas. fíet ⁴pústrei. iúklei ⁵vehiianasúm
⁶avť. sakrím ⁷fakiiad kasit ⁸medik(u)d⁴³⁶. túvtik(ud) ⁹kapv(anud)⁴³⁷. adpúd
¹⁰fíet

Feast tables must to be offered, (which are) on the day after the *vehianae*, but animal sacrifice is needed. In the presence of the *meddix tuticus Campanus*, as long as they last ?.

3. ST Cp 35, Ve 91, Co 119, FdB 15, He Suppl. 29.

eka(s): tris ||| ²med(ikud) kapva(nud) ³sakra(tas): [f]ufe(ns) ⁴e[k]a(s): [-
]mii(i): ⁵n[e]ssimas:

These three ||| (*iúvilas?*). There were? animal sacrifices in the presence of the *meddix tuticus*. These [...] next.

One inscription mentions two magistrates, naming only one of them:

5. ST Cp 34, Ve 88B, Co 117, Bu 31b, FdB 17A, He 22b. On the same stone as ST Cp 33.

[ekas iúvilas tr ²ís] pak(ieís) [hele]vii(eís) ³pak(ieís) medik(u)d ⁴túvtik(ud)
kapv(anud) ⁵sakraítír kasít ⁶damssennias ⁷pas. fíet. pústr(eí) ⁸iúklei
vehii(anasúm) ⁹medik(kiaí). mi(nieís). nive(llieís) ¹⁰kersna[s]ias

⁴³⁶ The reading of the final letter in medik(u)d is ambiguous: Rix reads it as medik(u)d and this prompted him to complement the rest of the title to the ablative case. Vetter, however, reads the word medikk and completed the rest of the title as nominative case.

⁴³⁷ The emendation of the office is uncertain: Rix completes it to the ablative case, Vetter, however, suggest that it was a nominative case.

[These three are the *iúvilas*] of Pacius Helvius son of Pacius. In the presence? of the *meddix tuticus Campanus* feast tables must be offered, which are (prepared) on the day after the *vehianae*, when Minius Nivellius was *meddix*, with cereal offerings.

In the remaining five inscriptions the officials are named:

6. ST Cp 24, Ve 81, Co 109, Bu 26, Pi 24, FdB 24, He 13d

tr(ebieís).vírriieís.ken²ssurineís. ekas ³iúvilas.trís. eh⁴peílatasset. ve⁵sulliaís.
fertalís

⁶staflatas set ⁷mi(nieís). blússii(eís). mi(nieís). m(eddíkíai). t(úvtíkaí)
⁸nessimas. staíet ⁹veruís. lúvkeí

These three *iúvilas* of Trebius Virrius Censorinus were set up the *vesulliae fertaliae*, they were erected when Minius Blossius son of Minius was *meddix tuticus*. They are standing by the gates, in the (sacred) grove.

7. ST Cp 27, Ve 82, Co 106, Bu 32, FdB 18, He 20.

sepis ²helevi(is) ³púmpe(riaís) ⁴faler(níias) ⁵iúvil(ú). de(kieís) ⁶virriieís
⁷medikíai

(This is the *iúvila*) of Seppius Helvius. During the *pumperiae falerniae*. This *iúvilas* (was made) when Decius Virrius was *meddix*.

8. ST Cp 28, Ve 83, Co 107, Bu 33, FdB 19, He 21.

^asepíeís. ²heleviie ³ís.súm ^bmi(nieís). anni ²ieí(s). medik³íai. túv(tíkaí)
⁴iúvilam ⁵prúf(a)t(ten)s ⁶púmperia(s) ⁷falernaia(s)

I am of Seppius Helvius. They approved the *iúvila* when Minius Annius was *meddix tuticus*. During the *pomperiae falerniae*.

9. ST Cp 29, Ve 84, Co 115, Bu 27, Pi 26 A, FdB 23, He 18.

ek(úk). iúvil(ú). sp(urieís) ka²lúvieis.inim³ fratrúm.múi⁴ nik(ú). est. fiisiais.
⁵púmperiais. pra⁶i. mamerttiaís. ⁷pas. set. kerssn⁸asias. l(úvkeis). pettiei⁹s.
meddikiai¹⁰fufens.

This is the common *iúvila* of Spurius Calvius and his brothers. During the *pumperiae* feasts, which are (held) before (the month of) Mamers. The cereal offerings took place when Lucius Pettius was *meddix*.

10. ST Cp 30, Ve 85, Co 116, Bu 28, Pi 26 B, FdB 22, He 19.

[ek(úk)]. i[úvi]l(ú)[.sp(urieis).] ²kalúvieís. iní³m. fratrúm⁴múínik(ú).est.
⁵fiísíais. púm⁶periaís. pas. pr. ⁷ai. mamerttia⁸is.set.sakrasia⁹s. l(úkieis).
pettieis. me¹⁰ddikkiai fuf¹¹ens

[This is the common *iúvila* of Spurius] Calavius and his brothers. During the *pumperiae* feasts, which are (held) before (the month of) Mamers. The animal sacrifice took place when Lucius Pettius was *meddix*.

The first four inscriptions make it clear that the presence of a public officer was fundamental for a sacrifice to take place or to validate an offering. The official of the state therefore does not appear in these inscriptions to date the events, and this is why his name is omitted⁴³⁸. Where names of magistrates are given, they are in the genitive singular and the offices in the locative case: *medikkiai* is attested in the

inscriptions ST Cp 27, 29, and 30, and *medikkiaí túvtikaí* in ST Cp 28.⁴³⁹ Buck suggests that the locative of the office should be translated as ‘in the meddixship’, which was used to date the inscriptions.⁴⁴⁰ Thus the three inscriptions, ST Cp 27, 29 and 30, would record celebrations while Decius Virrius and Lucius Pettius were the *meddices* and ST Cp 28 a feast while Minius Annius was the *meddix tuticus*. An alternative view, put forward by Franchi de Bellis that it should be translated as ‘in the presence of’, is not convincing.⁴⁴¹

Sartori and Campanile have argued that if both the title *meddix* and *meddix tuticus* were eponymous it would follow that the two were identical.⁴⁴² The fact that in every case the name of only one office-holder appears seems to confirm this argument. Admittedly, the inscription ST Cp 34 says that ‘in the presence of the *meddix tuticus Campanus* feast tables must be offered, which are (prepared) on the day after the *vehianae*, when Minius Nivellius was the *meddix*’, which seems to distinguish the title of the *meddix tuticus Campanus* from that of the simple *meddix*.⁴⁴³ However, the simple *meddix* probably stands for the office of *meddix tuticus*, but the qualifying adjective of the title is omitted. Epigraphic and literary evidence therefore agree that the office of the *meddix tuticus* was single, annual and eponymous.

⁴³⁸ The arguments of Franchi de Bellis (1981) 67-74 are convincing.

⁴³⁹ In inscription ST Cp 34 the office appearing at the end of the inscription is emended to *medik(kiaí)*, in ST Cp 24 to *m(eddikkiaí). t(úvtikaí)*.

⁴⁴⁰ Buck (1974) 200.

⁴⁴¹ Franchi de Bellis (1981) 194.

⁴⁴² See Sartori (1959) 20-1. Campanile-Letta (1979) 20.

⁴⁴³ Before Vetter it was thought that the office of *meddix* was followed by one word, *minive*, interpreted as an adjective, *minor*, linked to the office, which implied that the *meddix tuticus* had a colleague of lower rank. However Vetter pointed out *minive* is in fact two words: *mi nive*, which probably stand for the name of the *meddix*, Minius Nivellius. The interpretation of Franchi de Bellis (1981) 145 does not seem convincing. She accepts the previous reading of *minive*, but translates the word as ‘limitatamente’, suggesting that the *meddix tuticus Campanus* assisted the whole banquet (*adpúd fiíet* = as long as they last, reference taken from the other side of the stone, ST Cp 33), while the presence of the *meddix* was ‘limited’ only to the sacrifice with cereals.

Inscriptions mention two types of sacrifices: the *kerssnasia* and the *sakrasias*. The first term refers to the offering of cereals, the latter to the bloody type of sacrifice called *hostia* by the Romans. It has been suggested that the former word refers to the cakes represented on the terracotta inscriptions, while the second word refers to the boar.⁴⁴⁴ *Meddices*, *meddices tutici* and *meddices tutici Campani* appear at both types of sacrifices, so that the type of sacrifice does not determine the title of the magistrate, as the following table shows (it omits the inscriptions where the office appears for dating purposes).

Kerssnasia	Official	Sakrasia	Official
ST Cp 31	meddix Campanus	ST Cp 31	meddix Campanus
		ST Cp 32	meddix
		ST Cp 34	meddix tuticus Campanus
		ST Cp 35	meddix Campanus

The sacrifices took place during public holidays, but the type of the holiday does not seem to require an official of a particular title:

Holiday	Reference	Official
eídúis mamerttiaís	ST Cp 31	meddix Campanus
púmperiais súllem[n]aís	ST Cp 32	meddix
iúkleí vehiianasúm	ST Cp 33	meddix tuticus Campanus
iúklei vehiian(asúm)	ST Cp 34	meddix tuticus Campanus and meddix

⁴⁴⁴ Franchi de Bellis (1981) 46.

The inscription ST Cp 32 suggests the existence of different *meddices*: it mentions the *iúvilas* of three members of the gens *Tanternea*, which must be held in the presence of ‘any *meddix* representing the *vereia*’.⁴⁴⁵ The title of this *meddix* might be specified in order to distinguish him from the eponymous *meddix/meddix tuticus*.

Campanile proposed that the ethnic *Campanus*, which often appears by the title, is omissible.⁴⁴⁶ If the *meddix Pompeianus* and the *quaestor Pompeianus* referred to the magistrates of Pompeii, it would follow that the *meddix Campanus* and the *meddix tuticus Campanus* meant officials of Capua. He argued that the passage in Livy ‘Loesius, who complained that Capua had been abandoned and betrayed by its leading men, was the last of all the Campanians to receive their highest magistracy’ makes sense if there was only one *meddix tuticus* for all the *Campani* and not both a *meddix tuticus* and *meddix tuticus Campanus*.⁴⁴⁷ Campanile’s argument seems to be correct. It is, however, not possible to explain why the *Campanus* qualifying adjective appears only in cases where the name of the office-holder is omitted.

The *cognomen* of the beneficiary of the longest terracotta inscription, that of Trebius Virrius Censorinus, suggests that he had held the office of *censor*. Given that the inscription dates from the third century BC, when Capua was allied to the Romans and was obliged to provide it with a number of soldiers, it is hardly surprising to find a *censor* in Capua to take a *census* of the citizens in order to establish their military obligations.

⁴⁴⁵ ST Cp 32 medd(ikúm). pís = *meddicum quis*. Scattered inscriptions link only the office of *meddix* to the institution of *vereia*, not that of the *meddix tuticus*: See section 4. 2. 1

⁴⁴⁶ Campanile-Letta (1979) 23-4.

⁴⁴⁷ Livy 26. 6. 17.

3. 4. The elite families of Capua

This section considers what the literary and epigraphic evidence tell us about the composition of elite at Capua, including to what extent it was a regional rather than just a civic elite.

First, the inscriptions on terracotta *stelae* tell us the names of individuals or *gentes*.

ST Cp 8, Ve 74, Co 101, Bu 21, FdB 10, He 1. This stela is lost.

diuvilam. tirentium ²magiium. sulum. muinikiam. ³fisiais. eiduis. luisarifs.
⁴sakrvist. iiuk. destrst

The *iúvila* common to all the Terentii Magii is dedicated during the festive Ides of the month of Loesar⁴⁴⁸. It is on the right⁴⁴⁹.

ST Cp 9, Ve 75, Co 102, Bu 22, FdB 11, He 2. Next to the text: one loaf can be seen

ek(uk). diuvil(u). ²upfaleis ³saidiieis ⁴sakruvi(s)t ⁵pustrei ⁶[diuklei] ⁷a[-5-7]
⁸a[-5-7-] ⁹f[-5-7-] ¹⁰
-?-

This is the *iúvila* of Offellus Saedius. The sacrifice is on the next [day] [....]

ST Cp 10, Ve 76, Co 103, Bu 24 a, b, FdB 6, He 4. On one side: the head of female divinity (?), on the other a boar.

⁴⁴⁸ For the name of the month see: He 1.

⁴⁴⁹ Heurgon (1942a) 61-3 identifies the *fisiais* with *Latin feriae*.

^akluva[tiium] ²diuvia[is] ³damu[senias]

^bkluva[tiium] ²damuse[nias] ³diuvia[is]

Of the Clovatii, during the holiday of Jupiter. (There will be a) public banquet.

Of the Clovatii, public banquet, during the holiday of Jupiter⁴⁵⁰

ST Cp 11, Ve 77, Co 105, Bu 23, FdB 2, He 5. Head of female divinity (?).

^apumperias. pustm[as] ²kluvatium

^bpumperias pustm[as] ²kluvatium

^aOf the Clovatii. The last *pumperiae*

^bOf the Clovatii. The last *pumperiae*⁴⁵¹

ST Cp 12, Ve 78, Co 111, FdB 3, He 3. On one side a head of female divinity (?) can be on the other side a boar

^aves[ulias -?-] ²kluv[atium]

^bvesulias. a[-?-] ²kluvati[ium]

The *vesulliae*. Of the Clovatii.

The *vesulliae*. Of the Clovatii.⁴⁵²

ST Cp 13, Ve 79, Co 104, FdB 7, He 6. The stela is fragmentary

^aeidu[is] ²mam[erttia]s b[-?-]s ²[-?-] akrid

⁴⁵⁰ Franchi de Bellis (1981) 65-7 argues that the term *damnuseias* is related to the Greek word *δαμοθοινία* meaning public banquet

⁴⁵¹ *Pumperia* seems to be monthly held holiday, probably related to the movements of the moon- for history of interpretations of this term see Franchi de Bellis (1981) 56-9.

⁴⁵² Heurgon(1942a) 78-80 argues that the *vesullia* was could have been the private feast of the gens *Vesullia*, which later became a general term for public holidays. Rix (1995) 355, however, suggests that the word *Vesullia* is the diminutive of the Umbrian *Vesune*.

During the Ides of Mamers [...] with the sacrifice of an animal.

ST Cp 14, Ve 81a, Co 121, FdB 8, He 9. Next to the text a boar.

ve[sullia(i)s -?-]

During the *vesulliae*

ST Cp 15, Ve 81b, Co 122, FdB 5, He 10. Next to the text three loaves

fis[animum] ²f[iisiais] ³deiv[inais]

Of the Fisani. In the divine holidays(?)

ST Cp 16, Ve 81c, Co 120, FdB 4, He 8. Next to the head of a female divinity

ni[nium] ²fiis[iaais] ³vesu[liaais]

Of the Ninni. During the *vesulliae*-holidays.

ST Cp 17, Ve 92a, Co 125, FdB 9, He p29 b. The stela is fragmentary.

[-?- sak]rid [--]

With an animal

ST Cp 18, Ve 89, Co 118, FdB 14, He 11. On one side of the stela three loaves, on the other side a boar.

^aiuvilu[.-?] ²sakrak[-?-] ³vehjia[nais]

^biuvilu. [?] ²sakrid

^aIovila [of gentilicium]. Sacrificed [...] During the Veia festival.

^bIovila [of gentilicium] with an animal.

ST Cp 19, Ve 93, Co 112, FdB 1, He 7. On one side a loaf (divided into 3 parts), on the other side boar.

^amina(teis): naseni(eis)

^bmina(teis): naseni(eis)

^aOf Minatus Nasennius

^bOf Minatus Nasennius

ST Cp 20, Ve 80, FdB 12y, He 14. On one side a head of female divinity (?) can be seen by the text and a boar the other side

virium ²vesuliais ³deivinais

Of the Virrii. During the divine *vesulliae*

ST Cp 21, Ve 80, Co 110, FdB 12β, SE 61 (1995) 354.

virium ²vesuliais ³deivinais

Of the Virrii. During the divine *vesulliae*

ST Cp 22, Ve 80, SE 61 (1995) 354.

virium ²vesuliais ³deivinais

Of the Virrii. During the divine *vesulliae*

ST Cp 23, Ve 80, FdB 12 α.

virium ²vesulia[is] ³deivinais

Of the Virrii. During divine *vesulliae*

ST Cp 24, Ve 81, Co 109, Bu 26, Pi 24, FdB 24, He 13d Now lost.

tr(ebieís).vírriieís.ken ²ssurineís. ekas ³iúvilas.trís. eh⁴peílatasset. ve⁵sulliaís.
fertalís ⁶staflatas set ⁷mi(nieís). blússii(eís). mi(nieís). m(eddíkkiaí). t(úvtíkaí)
⁸nessimas. staíet ⁹veruís. lúvkeí

These three *iúvilas* of Trebius Virrius Censorinus were set up in the *vesulliae fertaliae* (month). They were erected when Minius Blossius son of Minius was *meddix tuticus*. They are standing by the gates, in the grove.

ST Cp 25, Ve 94, Co 108, Bu 25 a, b, Pi 23, FdB 16, He 12. On one side three loaves, on the other side a boar.

^aminieís. kaísillieís. minateís. ner(eís). ²ekas. iuvilas. iuveí. flaguí ³stahint
^{b2}minnieís kaísillieís. minateís: ner(eís). ¹ekas: iúvilas. iúveí. flagiúi. stahínt.

^aOf Minius Caesillius Nerius son of Minatus⁴⁵³. These *iúvilas* stand in dedication to Iupiter Flagius.

^bOf Minius Caesillius Nerius son of Minatus. These *iúvilas* stand for Iupiter Flagius.⁴⁵⁴

Private celebrations of the dead during holidays are made public by the appearance of an official or are held in the context of public event. Coarelli noted similarities between the sanctuaries of Libitina outside the Esquiline gates on the Campus Esquilinus, and that of fondo Patturelli. The sanctuary of Libitina stood in the lucus Libitinae, at the centre of a necropolis.⁴⁵⁵ Cicero mentions a *senatus consultum* which assigned a piece of public land in the campus Esquilinus for the tomb of Ser.

⁴⁵³ It is not certain whether the term *ner* means princeps, suggested by Heurgon (1942a) 18 or a cognomen, as Franchi de Bellis (1981) interprets.

⁴⁵⁴ The dative case of *iúveí. flagiúi* was usually translated as for 'Iupiter Flagius'. Franchi de Bellis, however, argues that we should understand as 'next to', a reference to the location of the *iovila*.

⁴⁵⁵ Coarelli (1995) 383-7.

Sulpicius Rufus to be built at public expense; his tomb became hereditary.⁴⁵⁶ The tombs in this necropolis included those of generals who had triumphed and other public leaders. The situation at fondo Patturelli could have been similar: the tombs linked to the sanctuary very likely belonged to local *gentes* who had achieved public eminence in Capua.

The *gens Clovatia* is mentioned only in inscriptions. The three terracotta stelae are among the oldest Capuan inscribed texts, probably from the late fourth to early third centuries BC.⁴⁵⁷ The name is definitely Oscan. Another member of the *gens*, Pacius Clovatus son of Valaemia, appears several times on a curse tablet from Capua.⁴⁵⁸ Heurgon, following the argument of Schulze, suggested that the *gens Clovatia* could be a branch of the *gens Cluvia*, abundantly represented in Campania in Latin inscriptions.⁴⁵⁹ It is possible that the *gens Cluvia* originated from the town of Cluviae of the Carracini.

The *Magii* appear both in inscriptions and in literary sources. Buck argues that the names Maiios> Magis> Mahis> Mais refer to the same *gens*.⁴⁶⁰ An early terracotta inscription mentions the common *iúvilas* of all the *Terentii Magii*, who might represent one branch of the *Magius* family in Capua. The *cognomen* Atellanus of Cn. Magius, *meddix tuticus* in 214 BC, might distinguish this branch of the *gens* from other branches in Capua such as the *Terentii*.⁴⁶¹ The image of this *gens* in Roman sources is very positive: during the crisis of 216 BC, Decius Magius appears as an unshakeable ally of the Romans, who tried to prevent the Capuans from joining

⁴⁵⁶ Cic. Phil. 9. 7. 17 mentioned by Coarelli.

⁴⁵⁷ ST Cp 10, 11, 12.

⁴⁵⁸ ST Cp 37.

⁴⁵⁹ Heurgon (1942) 110. CIL 10.3823 from S. Leucio claims the *sacra Cluviana*.

⁴⁶⁰ Buck (1975) 60.

⁴⁶¹ This idea was put forward by Heurgon (1942) 110.

the Carthaginians.⁴⁶² In his accolade to Decius Magius, Silius Italicus attributes the foundation of Capua to this *gens* at the instigation of Jupiter.⁴⁶³ Velleius Paterculus mentions Decius Magius as one of his maternal ancestors along with another member of his family, Minatus Magius Aeculensis.⁴⁶⁴ Two Oscan inscriptions from Aeclanum, one probably the basis of a statue to the goddess Mefitis, confirm that a branch of the *Magii* were leading inhabitants of this town.⁴⁶⁵ From the age of Sulla, the *Magii* appeared also at Rome: the sons of Minatus Magius held the praetorship.⁴⁶⁶

The *Virrii*, *Blossii* and *Calavii* of Capua fell victim to Roman propaganda after the Second Punic War, because they were active when the city revolted from Rome. They were made to embody *luxuria*, *voluptas*, *licentia* and *libido*, vices associated with Capua.⁴⁶⁷ Inscriptions show that the *Virrii* provided Capua with a *censor* and a *meddix*.⁴⁶⁸ A terracotta *stela* shows that ceremonies were held in honour of the *gens*. Vibius Virrius appears in Livy for his part in the embassy sent to Rome from Capua in 216 BC to ask for the release of the three hundred cavalrymen who had served in Sicily.⁴⁶⁹ Upon his return to Capua, he convinced his fellow-citizens to revolt from Rome, and took part in the embassy of the Capuan senate to Hannibal to negotiate the terms on which Capua joined the Carthaginians. A bronze tablet from a Roman tomb tells us that two other members of this *gens*, Sthenius Virrius and

⁴⁶² Livy 23. 7. 4.

⁴⁶³ Sil. Ital. Pun. 11. 177.

⁴⁶⁴ Vell. Pat. 2. 16. 2.

⁴⁶⁵ ST Hi 1: Gabius Magius son of Pacius, ST Hi 4: Sivijs Magius.

⁴⁶⁶ Münzer (P. W. 14 439 (8).

⁴⁶⁷ Livy 7. 38. 5, 23. 2. 1-2 and 23. 4. 4-5.

⁴⁶⁸ ST Cp 24 and 27.

⁴⁶⁹ Livy 23. 6. 1.

Triphius Virrius, were probably put under a curse.⁴⁷⁰ The name Triphius suggests that he was a freedmen of the *gens Virria*.

Two members of the *gens Blossia* are known: Minius Blossius son of Minius was *meddix tuticus* when the *iúvilas* of Trebius Virrius Censorinus was presented.⁴⁷¹ Livy mentions that Marius Blossius was the *praetor Campanus*, that is *meddix tuticus* of Capua in 216 BC.⁴⁷² Blossius acted as a faithful ally to Hannibal during the Roman siege of the city when one hundred and seventy leading Capuans committed suicide under the leadership of him and his brother.⁴⁷³ Cicero associated the name of this family with the arrogance and haughtiness typical of the Campanians.⁴⁷⁴

The *gentilicium* of the Calavii/Caluvii derives from the stem **caluo-*, from which the Latin adjective *calvus* derives. It appears in the Latin *nomen gentilicium* Calvius. Two large tufa slabs record that the *iúvila* of Spurius Calavius took place when Lucius Pettius was *meddix*. Maius Calavius appears on a fragment of a black-glaze pot.⁴⁷⁵ Numerous members of the *gens* appear in other Oscan-speaking territories. In Aesernia, Sthenius Calavius son of Gabius donated a gold ring to the goddess Angitia.⁴⁷⁶ At Nola Pacius Calavius son of Pacius is one of four magistrates (*meddix degetasius*) named on a boundary stone.⁴⁷⁷ Stenius Calavius is mentioned on a bronze curse tablet from Cumae.⁴⁷⁸ St(enius?) Cal(avius?), whose name appears on a tile-stamp from Pompeii, was probably the *meddix tuticus* of Pompeii. Calavii are also present in Latin inscriptions from Pompeii, Puteoli, Beneventum and

⁴⁷⁰ ST Cp 20-23. Curse tablet; ST Cp 36. Considering that the tablet was found in a Roman tomb, but with Oscan script, it probably dates from the late Republic or early Empire.

⁴⁷¹ ST Cp 24.

⁴⁷² Livy 23. 7. 8.

⁴⁷³ Livy 27. 3. 5.

⁴⁷⁴ Cic. De Leg Agr. 2. 93.

⁴⁷⁵ ST Cp 29 and 30, ST Cp 39.

⁴⁷⁶ ST Sa 22.

⁴⁷⁷ ST Cm 48. This inscription will be studied in detail in the 'Nola' section.

⁴⁷⁸ ST Cm 13.

Larinum.⁴⁷⁹ In ancient sources, the Calavii appear at two crucial points in Roman history: in the Samnite Wars after the Caudine Forks and in the Second Punic war. Ofillius Calavius is the only member of the *gens* painted in a favourable light by Roman historiography. Following the disaster of the Caudine Forks, Livy mentions that the returning Roman army was welcomed at Capua with pity, and that Ofillius upheld the alliance with Rome.⁴⁸⁰ The brothers Oвий and Nonius Calavius are mentioned as plotters against Rome in 314 BC, who then commit suicide.⁴⁸¹ Pacavius Calavius, *meddix tuticus* in 217 BC, had strong relations with Rome: his wife was the daughter of an Appius Claudius and his daughter married M. Livius.⁴⁸² Livy attributes to him the resolution of a political crisis at Capua in 216 BC, but he is accused of taking a major role in the revolt of Capua from Rome after the battle of Cannae. Finally Livy blames the Calavii for setting fire to the heart of Rome in 210 BC in retaliation for the abolition of the Capuan autonomy in the previous year. They were denounced by a slave whom they had treated badly.⁴⁸³ It is likely that the episodes of the secret conspiracy in 314 BC and the fire at Rome were Roman fabrications.

Two tufa slabs commemorate sacrifices in honour of three members of the *gens Tanterneia*: Upilus, Vibius and Pacius.⁴⁸⁴ The *nomen gentilicium* is probably the Oscanized version of the Etruscan 'Tantlna', attested at Naples on Latin inscriptions as 'Tantilius'.⁴⁸⁵ This is not the only *gens* in Capua supposed to have had Etruscan origins. Apart from the Magii (see above), Buonamici argued that the *gens Annia* to which the *meddix tuticus* Minius Annius belongs, originated from the

⁴⁷⁹ Pompeii: CIL X 1090, Puteoli: X 2202, Beneventum: CIL IX 1985 and Larinum: CIL IX 749,

⁴⁸⁰ Livy 9. 7. 2.

⁴⁸¹ Livy 9. 26. 7.

⁴⁸² Livy 22. 2. 6.

⁴⁸³ Briquel (2001) 117-35.

⁴⁸⁴ ST Cp 31 and 32.

Etruscan *gens Ane*.⁴⁸⁶ Heurgon, citing Schulze, gave a list of other family names of likely Etruscan origin: Casellius, Helvius, Loesius, Nasennius, Pettius and Saedius.⁴⁸⁷ This list suggests that the original Etruscan leaders of Capua probably continued to be part of the social and political elite even after the conquest of the city by the Samnites.

The study of the Capuan elite suggests that it was restricted and hereditary, but not closed. We have evidence for names of Etruscan origin, which implies that Etruscan families and their descendants were not excluded from taking part in the Capuan political life in the Samnite period. Bearers of Capuan elite family names are found in other Campanian cities and both literary and epigraphic evidence suggests that the leading families of Capua also had links with Rome.

3. 5. Conclusions: The supposed Campanian confederation

The only model for the organization of the Campanian confederation is Beloch's thesis that the federal magistrate was the *meddix tuticus* and the *meddices* without qualifying adjective were the representatives of the participating cities of the league.⁴⁸⁸ This model was rejected by Rosenberg, who argued that the *meddix tuticus* was the local magistrate of the city of Capua.⁴⁸⁹ The thesis of the existence of the so-called Campanian confederation is still the accepted view, but historians do not explain its organization and institutions.

⁴⁸⁵ Heurgon (1942) 105.

⁴⁸⁶ Buonamici (1932) 258.

⁴⁸⁷ Heurgon (1942) 111-2. Casellius: ST Cp 25, Helvius: ST Cp 27 and 28, Loesius: meddix of 211 BC, Nasennius: ST Cp 19, Pettius: meddix ST Cp 29 and 30, Saedius: ST Cp 9.

⁴⁸⁸ Beloch (1877) 295-6.

⁴⁸⁹ Rosenberg (1913) 18.

The use of the ethnic Campanus remains ambiguous: in ancient sources it can refer to the inhabitants of the city of Capua and its civic territory, but sources narrating wars often imply that the ethnic denoted those who belonged to a larger political or military association. It also denoted the inhabitants of the region called Campania⁴⁹⁰. It is usually agreed that the coins dating from the late fourth century with the legends ΚΑΜΠΑΝΟ, ΚΑΠΠΑΝΟΣ, ΚΑΠΠΑΝΟΙΜ and ΚΑΜΠΑΝΟΣ, and the coins of the Hannibalic War with the legend ΚΑΠΥ were minted by the Capuan civic community. It is also the accepted view that the *meddix tuticus Campanus* of the inscriptions was the local, civic magistrate of Capua. On balance, I would conclude that the ethnic probably denoted those who lived at Capua and in its territory. The territory of the city of Capua was much larger than that of any other urban community in Campania. It is also apparent that within the *ager Campanus*, in spite of its extent and fertility, the only other larger settlement that emerged was Atella. This supports the view that the area formed one administrative unit directly under Capua's control.

The senate often appears in sources concerning Capuan affairs. It seems, however, that this council was a local institution, whose members, the Capuan aristocracy, lived in the city. Livy, Cicero, and Diodorus Siculus mention the existence of an assembly. Other Samnite cities had two administrative bodies, like Pompeii, and therefore it is reasonable to conclude that this was the local popular assembly. Neither Livy nor Dionysius of Halicarnassus mention any federal council at Capua with delegated members from states of the so-called league.

It is not plausible that following the Samnite occupation, Cumae became part of the Capuan state, even for a short period of time. Samnite political institutions

⁴⁹⁰ See Section 3. 2. 2.

were established in the city, but there is no positive evidence between the fourth and third centuries that Cumae was subordinated to Capua. A passage from the time of the Second Punic war, however, is worthy of some attention. Livy mentions that the *Campani* held regular religious festivals in the sanctuary at Hamae, three miles from Cumae.⁴⁹¹ The two communities probably celebrated common cults in the sanctuary and formed some kind of religious association, but Livy's description of the events that follow does not imply political ties between the two. In the course of the Hannibalic War Livy says the Capuans invited the senate of Cumae to Hamae for a meeting, with the intent of taking them hostage. The Cumaeans, however, informed the Romans and the Capuan plans fell through. This passage does not seem to suggest that regular meetings of the two communities were held at the sanctuary, and even less, that it was a federal council formed by the representatives of the two communities.

The cities and towns of the supposed league seem to have reacted to Hannibal's presence in different ways: Capua, Atella and Calatia joined Hannibal, while other communities like Puteoli, Acerra, Suessula, Casilinum and Cumae remained loyal to the Romans, although we do not know anything about Volturnum and Liternum. Capua's relations to Calatia and Atella, are more problematic. In the list of communities that revolted from Rome during the Hannibalic Wars, the Atellani and the Calatini appear separately from the Campani.⁴⁹² Capua surrendered first, then Atella and Calatia.⁴⁹³ It is certainly true that Livy always mentions Capua, Atella and Calatia together. Occasionally, he adds the otherwise unattested Sabatinum when he refers to their punishment by Rome after the war, but the fact

⁴⁹¹ Livy 23. 35.

⁴⁹² Livy 22. 61. 11: Now these are the peoples that revolted: the Campanians, the Atellani, the Calatini, the Hirpini, a part of the Apulians, all the Samnites but the Pentri, all the Bruttii etc.

⁴⁹³ Livy 26. 26. 5.

that the Roman authorities treated them in the same way may have been the result of the similarity of their position in the war and their geographical vicinity.⁴⁹⁴ One piece of evidence, however, suggests that Capua, perhaps temporarily, formed a political alliance with its neighbours: the cognomen of Cn. Magius Atellanus suggests that he was citizen of Atella.⁴⁹⁵ The fact that he could become *meddix tuticus* of the Campani would imply that Atella at the time of the Hannibalic war belonged to a political federation with Capua, while retaining its separate identity. Presumably the Romans made it independent in Second Punic War. To conclude, apart from Atella and perhaps Calatia and Sabatinum, there is no good evidence for the Capuan league.

3. 6. Appendix: the pagi of Roman Capua

The office of *meddix tuticus/meddix* was abolished at Capua in 211 BC. The city was not destroyed, but was deprived of its senate, popular assembly and magistrates.⁴⁹⁶ The administration of the city was remodelled by the Romans. Justice was dispensed by four officers sent out from Rome every year, the *praefecti Capuam Cumas*, who were elected by the *comitia* at Rome.⁴⁹⁷ How the city was run after 211 BC does not concern us here, but the emergence of *pagi* in the territory of Capua in the Roman period recalls the *pagi* of Beneventum and invites us to compare briefly the two situations.

⁴⁹⁴ Livy 26. 33. 12; 26. 34. 6; 26. 34. 11.

⁴⁹⁵ Livy 24. 19. 2.

⁴⁹⁶ Livy 26, 16, 7-8 and 31. 29. 11.

⁴⁹⁷ Festus 262 L, Lintott (1999) 139.

The main source of information for the period after 211 BC is a group of twenty-eight inscriptions, often referred to as the '*magistri*' inscriptions.⁴⁹⁸ They have been dated to the period between 112 and 71 BC, and presumably reflect the administrative system in place some time after 211 BC. The texts mostly record building and restoration works executed in the city and territory of Capua. They mention boards of *magistri*, identified by the names of deities, which must have been linked to local sanctuaries: *magistri* of Spes, Fides, Fortuna, Venus Iovia, Ceres, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Jupiter Compages, Castor and Pollux and Mercurius. It has been concluded that these magistrates were the curators of local shrines, who superintended the building activities connected to these sanctuaries and put on games and festivals related to their deity.⁴⁹⁹ An alternative view that the *magistri* were representatives of wider professional associations has been rejected.⁵⁰⁰ Scholars have also noticed that a great number of duties, which in a *municipium* or colony fell to the ordinary magistrates, were assumed by these boards of *magistri* in Capua.

Two inscriptions are particularly relevant here because they mention decisions of a *pagus*. The more widely studied inscription is a decree of the *pagus Herculaneus*.⁵⁰¹ It records the activities of a board of *magistri* of Jupiter Compages, who were ordered to spend a certain amount of money on the restoration of the portico of the local theatre in accordance with a decision of the *pagus*, at the discretion of the *magister pagi*. The officials were granted honorary seating in the theatre as though they had put on games. The decree is followed by the names of twelve members of the board. The other inscription provides us with a list of the

⁴⁹⁸ The twenty-eight inscriptions were gathered and published by Frederiksen (1959) appendix and (1984) 281-4. Frederiksen's reference numbers will be used here.

⁴⁹⁹ The idea was put forward by Mommsen in CIL X 367 and still prevails, it was accepted by Frederiksen (1959) 85-88 and Pobjoy (1998) 182.

⁵⁰⁰ For the debate, see Frederiksen (1959) 85 and 86.

⁵⁰¹ Nr. 17 = CIL I² 682 = CIL X 3772 = ILS 6302 = ILLRP 719.

magistri first, and then records that the officials purchased a slave for Juno Gaura by the decree of the *pagus* (*pagi scita*)⁵⁰². These two inscriptions have prompted scholars to propose that, with the abolition of the central control in 211 BC, the Campanian plain reverted to ancient, pre-urban territorial units, the *pagi*, out of which the Capuan state had been formed by *synoikismos*.⁵⁰³ Capogrossi Colonesi notes that this reconstruction is based on two preconceptions about the *pagus*: its rural nature, and the belief that there was continuity between the pre-Roman and Roman administrative forms.⁵⁰⁴ Both suppositions seem to be founded more on the authority of Mommsen and Kornemann than on epigraphic or textual evidence. The first criticism of Heurgon's scheme came from Frederiksen, who found it hard to believe that previous village and tribal communities were revived and entrusted with administrative duties.⁵⁰⁵ I have discussed already in the previous section the view that *pagi* were introduced by the Roman administration in the Central Apennines.⁵⁰⁶ The term *pagus* is mentioned only in Latin inscriptions and no ancient source provides evidence for its existence at Capua before 211 BC. Furthermore, Pobjoy has shown that the cults to which the activities of the *magistri* of the *pagi* are related were clearly Roman.⁵⁰⁷ On the basis of these arguments, I conclude that the *pagi* of Capua, like the *pagi* attested in the central Apennines, must have been established by the Roman authorities.

⁵⁰² Nr. 20 = CIL I2 686 = CIL X 3783 = ILS 6303 = ILLRP 722.

⁵⁰³ Mommsen CIL X p. 367 and Heurgon (1942) 115.

⁵⁰⁴ Capogrossi Colonesi (2002) 159-70.

⁵⁰⁵ Frederiksen (1984) 266-7.

⁵⁰⁶ Section 2. 4. 1.

⁵⁰⁷ Pobjoy (1998) part IV, 192-5.

Chapter 4. Cumae

4. 1. Introduction

This chapter examines the public institutions of Cumae and its relations to the neighbouring cities. Ancient sources tell us that the Campani, the Samnite masters of Capua, also took over Cumae, once a powerful Greek colony. The fact that the Samnites conquered both cities in a short period of time has led scholars to believe, following Sartori, that Cumae was one of the cities which formed part of a confederation headed by Samnite Capua.⁵⁰⁸ The aim of this chapter is to see if the literary, archaeological and epigraphic evidence confirms the view, suggested in section 3. 5. above, that Cumae was independent from Capua.

4. 2. The history and archaeology of Samnite Cumae

Greek authors wrote abundantly about the public life and international politics of the powerful colony of Cumae in the late sixth and fifth centuries BC, but literary evidence becomes very scarce after the Samnite occupation of the city, probably because Cumae ceased to play such an important role in the Greek world. We therefore depend more heavily on archaeological material.

⁵⁰⁸ Sartori (1953) 17.

The power of Cumae, the earliest Greek colony on the mainland of Italy, was based on its maritime commerce and the agricultural produce of its hinterland. It had a strong fleet and probably also controlled the ports of Dicaearchia and Misenum. Clashes with the Etruscans over who controlled the lower Tyrrhenian Sea caused economic problems and with the tyranny of Aristodemus Malacus the traditionally aristocratic regime of Cumae lapsed into civil strife. Although the city won a second naval victory over the Etruscans in 474 BC, this was due more to the help of Hieron of Syracuse than to the military strength of Cumae.⁵⁰⁹

The power vacuum in the region allowed the conquest of the prosperous cities of Campania by Samnites from inland Italy: the general decline of Cumaean power culminated in the conquest of the city by the Samnites, from their base at Capua, conventionally dated to 421/0 BC.⁵¹⁰ The Samnite occupation must have brought the old regime to an abrupt end. Strabo mentions violent acts by the Samnites against the Greek inhabitants of the city.⁵¹¹ Those of the Cumaean leading classes who managed to flee the city found shelter at neighbouring Naples, a colony of Cumae, where they formed a special citizen community, as we learn from a description of the crisis that broke out between Rome and Naples in 327 BC.⁵¹² The Cumean mint, the first in Campania, was soon transferred to Naples, and the striking of coins bearing the Cumaean ethnic continued there until about 380 BC.⁵¹³ Another issue of Cumaean coins has been dated to the period between 325 and 300 BC.⁵¹⁴

⁵⁰⁹ Hieron of Syracuse, friend of Cumae: Pindar, Pythian 1. 71-5 and Diod. Sic. 11. 51. 1-2.

⁵¹⁰ Livy 4. 44. 13 and Diod. Sic. 12. 76. 4 probably took their information from a Greek, or, even common source because they agree on the year of the attack. Vell. Pat. 1. 4. 2.

⁵¹¹ Strabo 5. 4. 4.

⁵¹² Dion. Hal. 15. 6. 4. The Samnites, apart from offering military help in case of Roman attack, also promised to recover Cumae and to restore possessions for those who fled to Naples two generations earlier. It is difficult to reconcile this passage with the information about the Samnite occupation of Cumae in Livy and Diodorus Siculus. Counting two generations back from 327 BC would take us back to around 380 BC the earliest.

⁵¹³ Rutter (1979) 96-7.

⁵¹⁴ Rutter (2001) 67, Nr. 531-536.

It is difficult to know where exactly the border between the lands of Cumae and Capua lay after the arrival of the Samnites. It is likely, as Frederiksen suggested, that after its foundation Cumae dominated most of the Campanian plain between the rivers Sebethus and Clanius.⁵¹⁵ The foundation of Naples in the second half of the fifth century BC and the development of Capua must have diminished the extent of the Cumaeen territory (see maps III and IV). The sanctuary of Hamae, three miles from Cumae may have been positioned on the border with Capua, because the sanctuary was under their joint control.⁵¹⁶ The foundation of Liternum in 194 BC also limited the extent of Cumaeen territory to the north, where the sand dunes on which a forest of scrub trees grew, referred to by Strabo as the *silva gallinaria*, certainly belonged to Capua together with the plain of Licola. Cumae also controlled the areas of lakes Avernus, Lucrinus and Fusarus, the hilly lands of Mount Gaurus and probably also the Campi Phlegrei, although following the foundation of Dicaearchia by refugees from Samos, these lands probably became the object of dispute. The port of Misenum and the town of Baiae were under Cumaeen control for most of the fourth and third centuries BC.⁵¹⁷ It is not unlikely that these towns were also conquered by the Samnites at the same time as Cumae.

The coastline of Cumae has changed considerably since antiquity. The acropolis was probably surrounded by the sea on three sides. The area had plenty of water with extensive lagoons and marshlands to the south and to the north of the city, and was dotted with lakes. Paget has argued that pre-Samnite Cumae had two sheltered harbours to accommodate at least part of its fleet.⁵¹⁸ The port declined after the Samnite invasion whether as the result of natural causes, such as the shifting of

⁵¹⁵ Frederiksen (1984) map II.

⁵¹⁶ Livy 23. 35. See also charter 3. 2. 4.

⁵¹⁷ Livy 24. 13. 6 mentions that Hannibal devastated the lands of Cumae as far as the promontory of Misenum, which might suggest that the whole peninsula was under Cumaeen control.

sand dunes on the shore and the diminishing of springs that fed the lake Fusaro, or because the Samnites were not interested in maintaining a navy and let the harbours silt up.

The arrival of the Samnites is attested by the lack of Greek ceramics in the two necropoleis to the north and south of the city in the period between the end of fifth and the early fourth centuries BC.⁵¹⁹ The famous Greek temples of the acropolis began to decline. Although the temple of Apollo, built following the Cumaean naval victory against the Etruscans in the mid-fifth century BC, was rebuilt and provided with a staircase during the Samnite period, its blocks of stones were later used in building works in the lower city. The temple of Jupiter on the top of the acropolis was abandoned from the mid-fourth century BC.

However, Cumae saw growth in the number of inhabitants and progressive urbanization during the fourth and third centuries BC in the city below the acropolis.⁵²⁰ Excavations begun in 1994 have outlined most of the city walls and located several gates and the major avenues of the street plan of the lower city.⁵²¹ They confirm that the city did not have a regular street plan in the Greek phase of settlement and that a Hippodamian checkerboard plan was probably adopted in the Samnite period, as at Pompeii. The Cumaean acropolis was walled within the outer walls of the city. The earliest parts of these impressive double curtain walls were built towards the end of the sixth century BC.⁵²² Recent excavations have shown that the Samnites repaired and modified the walls and built consecutive towers and replaced old ones. Following the abandonment of the acropolis, the area of the

⁵¹⁸ Paget (1968) 152-69.

⁵¹⁹ Gabrici (1913) 716.

⁵²⁰ D' Agostino-Fatta-Malpede (2005). The study of the urban centre was assigned to the University of 'Federico II', the research of the port to the Centre Jean Bérard, and the study of the city wall and city plan to the Department of Classical and Mediterranean Studies at the University Oriental Institute of Naples; McKay (2004) 85-101.

earlier Greek *agora*, the later *forum*, became the centre of religious activity and public life in the Samnite period. An inscription reveals that the large Doric peripteral temple, built during the third century BC at the upper end of the forum, was dedicated to *Jupiter Flagius*.⁵²³ It was turned into the temple of the Capitoline triad in Sullan times. The cult of *Jupiter Flagius* has also been noted at Capua on a terracotta stela.⁵²⁴ The porticoed temple on the south side of the *forum*, built in the Augustan period, reveals traces of constructions underneath, identified as public buildings dating from the third century BC.⁵²⁵

In the period between the second half of the fourth century and the mid-third century BC, Cumae became a centre for the production of ceramic wares. Vases produced at Cumae imitate late Attic red-figure models in their decoration. These vases are extensively found in Cumaean tombs.⁵²⁶ Warriors dressed in typically Samnite armour are frequent motifs on these vases. Similar representations are also found in tomb paintings at Capua, Naples and Paestum of the same period. It is evident that these ceramics were intended for the use of the local market.

Cumae hardly ever appears in literary sources after the Samnite conquest. When a plague broke out at Rome in 412/1 BC, Livy says that the Romans attempted to purchase corn from Campania, but 'the Samnites who held Capua and Cumae insolently refused to permit envoys to trade with them'.⁵²⁷ This passage is the only possible indication of a relationship between the two cities, but it can be interpreted as an identical decision taken by two communities inhabited by the same people.

⁵²¹ D'Onofrio (2002) 136-42.

⁵²² Fratta (2002) 31-2.

⁵²³ Johannowsky (1959) 972. McKay (2004) 96 however argues that the temple was built in the period between 400 and 380.

⁵²⁴ ST Cp 25. dedications for Jupiter Flagius or in Latin Fulgurius were found scattered in Italy in the imperial period: Iupiter Fulgurius Tonans in CIL XI 4172 (Interamna), Iupiter Fulgurius Fulmen in IL XII 1807 (Vienne).

⁵²⁵ McKay (2004) 96.

⁵²⁶ Gabrici (1913) 717.

Cumae probably joined the rebels against Rome during the Latin War. Livy mentions that the city received *civitas sine suffragio* along with Capua, Fundi, Formiae and Suessula in 338 BC.⁵²⁸ This allowed Cumae to retain its customs, laws and language within the Roman state. Sartori argued that the activities of the *praefecti*, who were requested by and granted to Capua in 318 BC, soon extended to Cumae.⁵²⁹ I can find no evidence, literary or epigraphic, which supports this view. Cumae remained loyal to Rome during the Second Punic War and endured a fierce attack by Hannibal in 215 BC, which was repulsed by the consul Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.⁵³⁰ The three hundred Capuan cavalrymen, who were serving in Sicily at the time of the Capuan revolt from Rome, were pronounced Cumaean citizens to allow them to avoid the punishments which the Romans were to inflict on their home city. The political and administrative reorganization of Campania after Capua's surrender had deep effects on the cities in the region. I have concluded previously that Rome established the *IIIviri praefecti Capuam Cumas* to dispense law in ten Campanian cities after 211 BC.⁵³¹ This put an end to the autonomous public institutions of Cumae, since Festus says that these officers were sent to cities which did not have their own magistrates.⁵³²

Cumae became a bilingual community with the Samnite occupation. Epigraphic evidence suggests that the city acquired Oscan political institutions and the official language became Oscan, but it certainly retained a substantial number of Greek inhabitants. Strabo noted that the religious and legal practices of his own time

⁵²⁷ Livy 4. 52. 6

⁵²⁸ Livy 8. 14. 10.

⁵²⁹ Sartori (1953) 166.

⁵³⁰ Livy 23. 36. 5.

⁵³¹ For this argument see the chapter 3. 2. 3.

⁵³² Festus p. 262 Lindsay: 'et erat quaedam earum r(es) p(ublica), neque tamen magistratus suos habebant.'

still contained Greek elements.⁵³³ Livy's note that the Cumaeans applied for permission to use the Latin language in public life in 180 BC shows that they were keen for full integration into the Roman state, which probably occurred later in the second century BC.⁵³⁴

In conclusion, the Samnite conquest resulted in considerable changes to Cumae's economic and political position: the city's previous territory shrank and the mint was transferred to Naples; and the harbour and acropolis declined. After a decline in the early fourth century, the population increased during the fourth and third centuries: the area below the acropolis became the new political and religious centre and the city shows signs of urbanization in the period. Latin and Greek sources took little interest in the city and only the most important changes in Cumae's political status are mentioned: the grant of citizenship without suffrage in 338 BC, after which the city retained its laws, customs and the Oscan language until 211 BC, when *praefecti* were sent from Rome to dispense justice. Literary sources say nothing about the city's own political institutions, but epigraphic evidence provides us with some information.

4. 3. Samnite magistrates at Cumae

We have three stone inscriptions which attest public offices at Cumae:

ST Cm 4, Pocc 133, SE 48 (1980) 426, 7. Made of grey stones in the mosaic floor of the podium of the temple of Jupiter Flagius. The inscriptions survived behind the *cella* of the Capitoline triad after the reconstruction of the temple in the Roman

⁵³³ Strabo 5. 4. 4.

⁵³⁴ Livy 40. 42. 13.

period. Although the text is now lost, it has been reconstructed from a plaster cast by Sgobbo. It has been dated to the third century BC and is probably the oldest of the three administrative inscriptions. The text goes as follows.

min(is). heii(s). pak(ieís). m(eddís). v. ínim m(eddís) x ekík. pavmentúm.
úpsannúm. dedens

Minius Heius son of Pacius *meddix* v, and the *meddix* x commissioned (plur.)
the construction of (this) floor.

ST Cm 9, Ve 108, Pocc 132, Pi 16, SE 48 (1980) 428, 9. Incised on the base of a statue, found walled into a pillar in the temple of Apollo on the acropolis of Cumae. The stone had apparently been removed from the temple of Jupiter Flagius. Dated to the second half of the third century BC.⁵³⁵

[-9/10-ni]u(msieís). m(eddís) v. ínim. m(eddís) x. ²ekík: se[g]únúm: íúveí:
flagiúi pr(u): vereiiad: duneís: dedens
[-9/10] son of Numisius(?) m(eddix) v, and the m(eddix) x gave (plur.) this
statue as a gift to Jupiter Flagius on behalf of the *vereia*.

ST Cm 5, Pocc 134, SE 48 (1980) 428, 8. On the capital of a marble column. The column was found in a building, thought to have been part of the public baths and gymnasium. The column stood on a pedestal in a rectangular basin lined with marble. The inscription may be dated to the end of the third century BC.⁵³⁶

ma heíis. de(kieís). m(eddís). v. ínim. m(eddís). x ekak. fliteam. emmens.
Maius Heius son of Decius *meddix* v, and the *meddix* x bought (plur.) this
fliteam.

⁵³⁵ Capaldi (2001) 20-1.

Although Sgobbo's reading of the word before the verb *emmens* as *flitu.uam* has been rejected, his interpretation of the expression still seems plausible.⁵³⁷ He related the word to the Latin *fluo*, and suggested that it was the equivalent of the Latin *labrum*, a basin or tub, perhaps referring to the basin in which the column stood. Other scholars, however, have made other proposals.⁵³⁸

The verbs *dedens* and *emmens* are plural and make it clear that at least two magistrates act in these inscriptions, not the same person holding both offices. The name of magistrate m v is attested in all inscriptions which implies that this office was the more prestigious of the two, probably eponymous. The letter m plausibly stands for the common Oscan term *meddiss* or *meddix* in Latinized form.

Several arguments have been put forward for the identification of the office *meddix v*. Prosdocimi argued that it stood for the title of *meddis valaims*, or in Latinized form *meddix optimus* and that this is was a local alternative for the title of *meddix tuticus*.⁵³⁹ Prosdocimi also suggested that the letter 'v' could be an abbreviation of the Oscan name of Cumae, which we do not know. He compared a group of coins with the legend $\square\epsilon($, $\square\epsilon\lambda\epsilon($, $\square\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi\alpha($, which must be an ethnic of an unknown Campanian community and which he suggested could relate to Cumae.⁵⁴⁰ Poccetti, following La Regina, has argued that the office must be expanded to *meddix vereias*, because the *vereia* is mentioned in the inscription ST

⁵³⁶ Caputo-Morichi-Paone-Rispoli (1996) 208.

⁵³⁷ for Sgobbo see Poccetti (1979) 98.

⁵³⁸ Prosdocimi (1978) 1067-72 believes that it is related to the Greek word *πλίνθειον*. Campanile (1979) 29, however, thought that the expression *fliteam* refers to the object placed on the column, but it is uncertain what the object was. Poccetti's interpretation also seems plausible. He suggested that we should relate the expression *fliteam* to the Latin *plinthus*, plinth or base, which often appears in Vitruvius: Vit. 3. 5. 3, 4. 3. 4, 4. 7. 3 etc.

⁵³⁹ Prosdocimi (1976) 658 and (1978) 860-1.

⁵⁴⁰ Prosdocimi (1978) 861.

Cm 9.⁵⁴¹ Prosdocimi's idea of the expansion of *meddix v* to *meddix valaims*, in Latin *meddix optimus*, is not convincing, because we do not have any parallel for this. The identification of *v* with the Oscan name of Cumae is also problematic, because we do not have any other example of the abbreviation of an ethnic to one letter in inscriptions. Poccetti's proposal that *meddix v* stands for *meddix vereks* rests on the erroneous assumption that the *vereia* elsewhere had its own *meddices*. Until further evidence becomes available, it must be concluded that we do not know what the abbreviation *meddix v* stands for.

The second problem is the identification of the office of *meddix x*. The letter *x* undeniably refers to the number ten. Scholars disagree on how this number relates to the office. These are the main views: Prosdocimi argued that the letter *x* must be an abbreviation of the adjective *deke(m)tasis*, also connected to the number ten, and therefore the office of *meddix x* is the equivalent of the office of *meddix degetasius* of Nola.⁵⁴² Campanile instead suggested that the letter *x* referred to a board of ten *meddices*.⁵⁴³ Poccetti, agreeing with Campanile that the letter *x* refers to the number of magistrates, suggested that we are dealing with the officials of the *vereia* as their activities can be compared to those of the *magistri* of cult associations in Campania and Delos.⁵⁴⁴ The number *x* also appears in Samnium on a tile stamp, where it comes after the title *meddix tuticus*.⁵⁴⁵ It has been argued that it refers to a decennial *meddix tuticus*. It seems unlikely that this interpretation can apply also in the case of the Cumaean inscriptions, because it seems implausible that the only three inscriptions which survive from Cumae should all have been set up by three different decennial magistrates. The *vereia* of Capua and Pompeii did not have its

⁵⁴¹ This interpretation was supported by La Regina (1981) 134 and (1989) 309.

⁵⁴² See chapter 5. 3. 1.

⁵⁴³ Campanile (1979) 30.

⁵⁴⁴ Poccetti (1979) 100-1.

own magistrates, but was represented by and was under the control of public magistrates.⁵⁴⁶ Therefore Poccetti's suggestion that the *meddices* x were a board of ten magistrates of the *vereia* lacks foundation. The interpretations of Prodocimi, identifying the *meddices* x with the *meddices degetasii*, financial magistrates, and that of Campanile that the letter x refers to the number of public magistrates, seem to be equally possible. The subordination of the office of *meddix* x to the *meddix* v is suggested by the omission of the name or names of the officers.

4. 4. The *vereia*

The third problem is the interpretation of the word *vereia*. The term appears only in Oscan epigraphic evidence and therefore seems an entirely Italic institution. The expression is attested five times in full in inscriptions:

1. ST Cm 9, from Cumae (see above).
2. ST Cp 32, from Capua (for text see section 3. 3). This inscription mentions that the *iúvilas* sacrifices are conditional upon the presence of a *meddix* representing the *vereia*.
3. ST Po 3, from Pompeii (for text see section 6. 3. 4). This inscription mentions the construction of a building for the *vereia* from the money left in his will by Vibius Atranus son of Vibius. The Pompeian *quaestor* supervised the building according to the order of one of the Pompeian councils.
4. ST Fr 2, Ve 173, Pi 42, Co 193 and Bu 61, from the territory of the Frentani. On a sword shaped bronze plate.

vereias: lúvkanateís. ²aapas: kaías: palanúd.

⁵⁴⁵ ST tSa 24. See section 2. 4. 2.

⁵⁴⁶ See also sections 3. 3 and 6. 3. 4.

Of the *vereia* of the Lucanians. Water directed from Pallano.

5. ST Lu 37, Ve 192, Pocc 151, Pi 4C. Inscription in Greek characters on a bronze helmet from an unknown location in Lucania.⁵⁴⁷ Dated to the mid-fourth century BC.

¹·ΞΕΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΜΠΣΑΝΑΣ ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝΤΙΝΑΣ ²ΣΥΠ ΜΕΔΙΚΙΑΙ ΠΘ-?

Vereia of Campsa, of Metapontum. During the meddicate of po[?

The term may have appeared in a handful of other instances as well:

1. It has been suggested that in the inscriptions ST Cm 4, 5 and 9 (cited above), the office of *m v* should be emended to *meddix vereks*.

2. Tagliamonte thought that the term *verega* in an inscription from Adrano, Mendolito in Sicily, could refer to the *vereia*.⁵⁴⁸ Inscribed on a stone built into the city-wall of the ancient settlement. It dates from the end of the sixth century BC. Morandi 54:

¹iamakaramehpiiaskaagiiesgeped ²teutoveregaiesoekadoara[iead]

3. ST tLu 9: a tile stamp from Hipponion, on which we find the expression ΞΕΡΕΚΟ. The tile stamp must date from before the end of the third century BC, because this city received a Latin colony in 192 BC and was renamed Vibo Valentia.

4. STSa 1 A11 and B14: the Agnone tablet includes the phrase *diúvei verehasiúi*. Several interpretations of this god have been put forward, Morandi, however, linked him to the *vereia*.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁷ Previous readings have been modified by Vlad Borrelli (1957) 234-42. See also Parlangeli (1960) 239-40.

⁵⁴⁸ Tagliamonte (1989) 362 and 368. Morandi (1982) 166-7.

Modern interpretations of the expression *vereia* can be divided into three main groups. The first group emphasizes its military aspects. Bücheler argued that the function of the *vereia* was the physical and military training of the young local aristocrats like the Greek *ephebea* or the Roman *iuventus*.⁵⁵⁰ Other scholars have provided archaeological and linguistic support for this thesis. The building into which the Pompeian inscription attesting the *vereia* had been walled is thought to have been a gymnasium during the Samnite period.⁵⁵¹ It has been suggested that the word derives from the Indo-European root **vero-*, ‘defence’ and so ‘defensive body’.⁵⁵² The identification of the *vereia* as a military and educational organization for young aristocrats is the generally accepted view.⁵⁵³ La Regina was the first scholar to raise doubts about this thesis. He argued that the helmet bearing the inscription ST Lu 37 belonged to a group of Lucanian or Hirpinian mercenaries originally from Compsa of the Lucani or the Hirpini, in the service of Metapontum at the time of the dedication.⁵⁵⁴ Tagliamonte rightly pointed out that, unlike the terms *ephebeia* and *iuventus*, *vereia* is not etymologically connected either to a specific age group or to the higher classes.⁵⁵⁵ Furthermore, it has been suggested that the so-called ‘Palaestra sannitica’ of Pompeii was too small for a gymnasium, but might have served as the seat of this or another organization.⁵⁵⁶ Tagliamonte was also right to criticize La Regina’s link of the *vereia* with the ἵππεῖς, the cavalry,

⁵⁴⁹ Bu 45: Jupiter Versor, Ve 147: Vergarius. Morandi (1982) 167.

⁵⁵⁰ Bücheler in Nissen (1877) 169. Bücheler believed that the word *vereia* was related to the Umbrian *veiro*, Lat. *viro* and means ‘a group of men’.

⁵⁵¹ Della Corte (1924) 47-60 strongly claims the identification of the building-complex with a gymnasium. The building later appeared in modern works as Gymnasium, Palaestra and Porticus Vicinii.

⁵⁵² This argument first appeared in Buck (1974, reprint of the 1904 edition) 186 and 240 and was supported by Pisani (1964) 63.

⁵⁵³ This view is supported by Vetter (1954) nr. 173, Frederiksen (1968) 19, Salmon (1967) 94. Morel, (1976) 670 suggested that the *vereia* was founded for the defence of the city-gates, which argument he presumably bases on the relation of the term *vereia* to the word for gate in Oscan, *veru*. Cristofani (1978) 89-90, Frederiksen (1984) 148.

⁵⁵⁴ La Regina (1981) 135-7.

because it is not known whether the mercenary groups of the Lucanians and the Frentani were cavalry troops.⁵⁵⁷ The military connotation of the word, however, cannot be doubted, because of the etymology of the word and because of the inscription on the helmet from Metapontum and the sword-shaped plate from the Frentani. Tagliamonte therefore concluded that the *vereia* was a military institution, either public or private. It served its own community and was under public control.

The second group of interpretations considers the *vereia* to have been an institution of a social kind.⁵⁵⁸ Campanile accepted La Regina's view that *vereia* originally meant a group of mercenary soldiers, who might form an autonomous political entity under the leadership of their general, as happened at Messina and Entella.⁵⁵⁹ They settled in cities, lost their military characteristics and became predominantly cultural and professional associations.

The third group takes *vereia* to denote a city, autonomous community or state. First was Mommsen, who thought it was a *res publica*.⁵⁶⁰ Rix suggested that the term *vereia* derives from the proto-Indo-European or proto-Italic stem **werg'-iya*, which means the 'act of enclosing', 'the result of enclosing', 'something enclosed', 'to protect', and which could refer to a community enclosed by palisade or walls.⁵⁶¹ He noted that a *vereia* is not attested in states where an *okri* (citadel) is attested, and suggests that the Samnites who colonized the cities of Campania used *vereia* to denote a fortified urban settlement. It then came to mean the autonomous Samnite community, the state, and thus the office of *meddix vereks* is identical to that of the *meddix tuticus*.

⁵⁵⁵ Tagliamonte (1989) 363

⁵⁵⁶ De Vos (1982) 72.

⁵⁵⁷ Tagliamonte 371-2.

⁵⁵⁸ Devoto (1967) 222-3 and Prosdocimi (1978) 865 and 69;

⁵⁵⁹ Campanile (1985) 13, (1993) 601-11, (1996) 172-3

⁵⁶⁰ Mommsen (1850) 169, 183, 258.

Rix's argument is unconvincing. First, the identification of *meddix v* with *meddix vereks* is not certain. Second, if the term *vereia* were normal in Campania, why do we have evidence for the office of *meddix tuticus* in several Campanian cities and only in Cumae for the *meddix v*? If the *okri* remained subordinate to the *touta* elsewhere, why should the supposedly equivalent term *vereia* replace *touta* in Campania?

The precise etymology of the term *vereia* remains open to interpretation, but all linguists agree that it has something to do with defense. The military relations of the word are confirmed by the fact that one text was inscribed on a helmet, and another on a sword-figured bronze plate. The *vereia* seems to have been a military group, perhaps originally private, which might undertake mercenary service. Armed bands of warlords in the early history of Rome may provide a parallel for the Oscan *vereia* such as the *sodales* of Publius Valerius making an offering to Mars in an inscription from Satricum around 500 BC.⁵⁶² Coriolanus and the Fabii were noted for their large number of armed followers.⁵⁶³ Cornell notes that in the early Republic armed bands might have operated independently from state governments, moved freely across state frontiers and may have changed their allegiances frequently.⁵⁶⁴ Groups of mercenaries could also emerge from communities, as in the case of the *vereia* of Campsa, which served at Metapontum. We have two attestations for the *vereia* in the third century BC in Capua and Cumae, and in both cities they appear under public control: in Capua a *meddix* represents the *vereia* in one of the *iúvilas* inscriptions, at Pompeii the quaestor acts on behalf of the city council in supervising building works for the *vereia*. By that time both Capua and Cumae were allies of

⁵⁶¹ Rix (2000) 217-8.

⁵⁶² Lintott (1999) 30.

⁵⁶³ Dion. Hal. 7. 21. 3 and 9. 15. 3.

⁵⁶⁴ Cornell (1995) 144. CAH 7. 2. 157-8.

Rome and the *vereia* had been formalized as a public institution, probably with the aim of military education of the youth similar to the *iuventus* and *ephebeia*.

4. 5. Conclusions

The Samnite occupation of Cumae is attested by literary sources and epigraphic evidence. Archaeology shows a growth in the city's population during the fourth and third centuries, the establishment of a Hippodamian checkerboard plan in the lower city below the acropolis, and the rebuilding of the old Greek agora, which became the city's new religious and civic centre.

The literary sources say very little about Cumae's political system. We know that in 338 BC the city was granted *civitas sine suffragio* along with Capua and a number of other Campanian cities and retained its own magistrates and language. Epigraphic evidence from the third century BC suggests that at least two offices existed in the city: the perhaps eponymous *meddix v* and the *meddix* or *meddices x*. Neither of these offices has been found elsewhere in Oscan-speaking territories. I have concluded that at present it is uncertain what the abbreviation v stands for. Two interpretations of the letter x are plausible until further evidence emerges: it might refer either to a *meddix degetasius* like the one known from Nola, or it might denote a board of ten *meddices*.

Cumae also provides evidence for the institution of the *vereia*, which was also found in other Oscan-speaking territories. The *vereia* in its origins may have denoted a private military group, like the armed bands in the early history of Rome. During and after the third century BC, we have references to a *vereia* at Capua,

Cumae and Pompeii. These cities, already allied to Rome at the time, exercised state control over the *vereia*, which had probably now become a public educational and cultural institution, similar to the Roman *iuventus* and the Greek *ephebeia*.

Chapter 5. Nola and Abella

5. 1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the public institutions of Nola and Abella. I examine critically the view that there was a confederation in central Campania under the leadership of Nola. Sartori in particular has argued for the existence of a league during the period of Samnite domination between the end of the fifth century and the Social War.⁵⁶⁵ This chapter is divided into three parts. First, I study the literary evidence for the relationships between the towns of the area. The second section looks at the coins of Nola and Hyrina in order to see how they fit into our picture of the relationships between Nola and the neighbouring settlements. Finally, in the third and longest section I study the epigraphic evidence for the duties, relationships and the spheres of authority of the magistrates of Nola and Abella, and how they compare to those of other towns in Campania.

5. 2. Literary sources

Some ancient sources attribute the foundation of Nola and Abella to the inhabitants of Chalcis in Euboia: Silius Italicus, in his description of Marcellus's movements in Campania during his campaigns of 216 and 215 BC, adds the adjective 'Chalcidian' to

⁵⁶⁵ Sartori (1953) 17 and 148, n. 6.

the name of the town.⁵⁶⁶ Justin, who epitomized the *Philippic Histories* of Pompeius Trogus, asks rhetorically 'are surely not ... the Nolans and Abellans colonies of the Chalcidians?'⁵⁶⁷ The inhabitants of Chalcis in Euboia are thought to have been the founders of Cumae and Naples. We may suppose that authors of imperial times were happy to attribute Greek founders to settlements in the neighbourhood of important Greek cities. It is true that a great number of Ionic cups and black-figured vases have been found in Nolan tombs, but they are probably due to the contacts of the town with the coastal Greek cities, rather than evidence for a substantial Greek community.⁵⁶⁸ Velleius Paterculus attributes the foundation of Nola to the Etruscans.⁵⁶⁹ Polybius also mentions that the Etruscans were the first inhabitants of the Phlegraean fields near Capua and Nola.⁵⁷⁰ Other ancient sources attribute an Etruscan origin to the cities of Capua, Nola, Surrentum, Pompeii and Herculaneum. The material provided by the Ronga necropolis, one of the necropoleis situated north of Nola, covers most of the historical period of the town.⁵⁷¹ The earliest tombs date from the third quarter of the seventh century BC. Finds include imported bucchero pottery, typical Etrusco-Corinthian ceramic material from the orientalizing period, also found in Latium and Etruria, and their local imitations, Italo-geometric vases, numerous fibulae and belts. The material culture of this necropolis reveals close affinities with the finds in tombs at Capua, and also with the finds at Pontecagnano and Vico Equense of the same period.⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁶ Sil. Ital. 12. 161. The dates are deduced from the traditional dating found in Livy, who also describes Marcellus' campaigns in Campania and Apulia.

⁵⁶⁷ Iust. 20. 1. 13.

⁵⁶⁸ Mustilli (1962) 182.

⁵⁶⁹ Velleius Paterculus 1. 7. 2:

⁵⁷⁰ Polyb. 2. 17.

⁵⁷¹ Bonghi Jovino-Donceel (1969).

⁵⁷² Frederiksen (1971) 206.

Hecataeus in the late sixth century BC suggests that Nola was an Ausonian town.⁵⁷³ Several ancient sources imply that most of southern Italy was populated by an Italic population of some kind before the arrival of the Etruscans.⁵⁷⁴

The foundation history of Abella is less colourful. Servius says that the first inhabitants of the town were Greeks, although the city was founded by the mythical king Muranus.⁵⁷⁵ All these passages describe the region as ethnically diverse. Our literary sources do not record when the Samnite occupation of the two towns occurred, but it probably happened in the second part of the fifth century, as was the case with most of the Campanian cities. Nola acquired its name from the Samnites, for Nola means 'New Town' in Oscan. The Ronga necropolis does not reveal an interruption or impoverishment of the tombs in the period following the presumed Samnite occupation.

In historical accounts, Nola first figures in an incident involving Naples on the eve of the Second Samnite war. The accounts of Dionysius Halicarnassus and Livy are somewhat confused. Dionysius mentions the arrival of Tarentine and Nolan ambassadors at Naples in 327 BC.⁵⁷⁶ In this period, the Samnites and Romans were competing to secure as much support in Campania as possible. The Tarentine support of the Samnites towards the end of the 330s BC allowed the latter to put more pressure on the Volscian area and to gain support among the Campanian towns, probably including Nola. The Tarentine and Nolan legates went to Naples to prevent the city from forming an alliance with Rome. The atrocities 'committed against the Romans dwelling in the districts of Campania and Falerii' by the inhabitants of Palaeopolis culminated in war between

⁵⁷³ Hecataeus fr. 28 FGrH. Beloch (1890) 389 was puzzled by this passage, because he thought that Campania was more likely to have been inhabited by the Etruscans or Greeks in the author's time.

⁵⁷⁴ Aristotle Pol. 1329b 18; Antiochus in Strabo 5. 4. 3; Livy 8. 15. 16. Polyb 34. 11. 7.

⁵⁷⁵ Iust. 20. 1. 13; Serv. 7. 790.

⁵⁷⁶ Dion. Hal. 15. 5. 2.

Rome and Naples.⁵⁷⁷ One may doubt, however, whether Roman citizens were living in the *ager Campanus* at such an early date. Palaeopolis, probably the old town of Naples, was mostly inhabited by the Cumaeans who had fled there following the occupation of Cumae by the Samnites in the late fifth century BC.⁵⁷⁸ Palaeopolis faced military reprisals by the Romans. The Samnites installed a garrison at Naples with the participation of two thousand soldiers from Nola and four thousand Samnites. The Roman consul, L. Cornelius Lentulus, was informed of a levy proclaimed by the Samnite magistrates in preparation to help their ally, Palaeopolis, to meet the Roman threat.⁵⁷⁹ Livy says that reinforcements were on their way to Palaeopolis both from Tarentum and from the Samnites.⁵⁸⁰ The Samnite alliance, however, did not last very long. Naples was internally divided, with the leading classes preferring the Roman alliance, and the people preferring the Samnite alliance. The promised Samnite troops failed to arrive and the Neapolitans endured a long, exhausting siege. Finally, the pro-Roman group prevailed, the Nolans and the Samnites were forced to flee from Naples, and the city was handed over to the Roman general Q. Publilius Philo.⁵⁸¹

In these events Nola appears as a leading town of the region, closely allied to the highland Samnites. Nola is not mentioned again until its capture by the Roman dictator C. Poetelius in 313 BC when it presumably was made an ally of Rome.⁵⁸² Abella is not mentioned at all in this period. Certainly it was less important than Nola, but there is no reason to interpret its absence in the narrative as evidence for its subordination to Nola.

We hear about Nola for the first time during the Second Punic War in 216 BC when Livy mentions disagreement between the pro-Roman senate and the people

⁵⁷⁷ Livy 8. 22. 5.

⁵⁷⁸ Livy 8. 22. 5.

⁵⁷⁹ Livy 8. 23. 1-4.

⁵⁸⁰ Livy 8. 25. 7-9.

⁵⁸¹ Livy 8. 26. 3-6.

wanting to join Hannibal, who was already in the region.⁵⁸³ Similar crises were recorded in other Campanian and southern Italian towns such as Capua, Nola, Nuceria, Compsa and Croton, with the leading classes defending the Roman alliance and the common preferring to join Hannibal.⁵⁸⁴ Nola's strategic importance during the Second Punic War was due to its location in the heart of Campania. From Nola one could easily reach the ports of Naples and Pompeii or follow the communication lines to the inner parts of the Italian peninsula.⁵⁸⁵ Nola's strategic importance to Rome was further strengthened by the fact that, by 216 BC, both Capua in the north and Nuceria in the south were in Hannibal's hands. M. Claudius Marcellus, the Roman *praetor*, whose army was stationed at Casilinum, arrived promptly and defeated Hannibal at Nola.⁵⁸⁶ Hannibal tried again in 215 and in 214 BC, but he suffered only more defeats at the hands of Marcellus and eventually gave up the hope of gaining control of the town.⁵⁸⁷

Nola became the base of a strong Roman garrison in the years 216-214 BC. Livy says that the *proconsul* Marcellus, probably from his base at Nola, raided the territories of the Samnite Hirpini and Caudini, who joined Hannibal in 215 BC.⁵⁸⁸ During his campaign in Campania, Hannibal stationed his army at Tifata, above Capua. Cities on the Roman side attracted those driven from their homes by Carthaginian attacks: the citizens of Nuceria, after their town was sacked by Hannibal's army, took refuge in

⁵⁸² Livy 9. 28. 6.

⁵⁸³ Livy 23. 14. 1 - 8. The senate is mentioned on other occasions too: Livy 23. 14. 5, 23. 16. 7, 23. 39 7. and 24. 13. 8. The Cippus Abellanus of the mid- or late second century BC, studied later, shows that both Nola and Abella had councils called senate.

⁵⁸⁴ Livy 23. 43. 9, 23. 44. 1 and 23. 15. 7.

⁵⁸⁵ Strabo 5, 4, 8: 'Pompeii, on the river Sarnus - a river which both takes the cargoes inland and sends them out to the sea - is the port town of Nola, Nuceria and Acerrae'. Although this passage refers to Strabo's own time, commercial relations certainly existed among the Oscan towns of the region well before.

⁵⁸⁶ Livy 23. 16. 16.

⁵⁸⁷ Livy 23. 44. - 45. and 24. 17. 8

⁵⁸⁸ Livy 23. 41. 13. 1- 14. 2. 215 BC.

Nola, Naples and Cumae in 216 BC.⁵⁸⁹ According to Strabo, Pompeii functioned as a port for Nola, Nuceria and Acerrae, but the passage probably refers to his own day.⁵⁹⁰ Nola joined the Italic allies against Rome in the Social War and was besieged by Sulla, who, in around 80 BC, established a veteran colony in its territory.

In conclusion, literary sources for the Samnite Wars and the Second Punic War are mainly concerned with Nola's relation with Rome. What comes through the literary evidence is Nola's unquestionable importance in the region, especially in the Second Punic War, when it accommodated a Roman garrison and provided a base for military operations against other Campanian settlements under the control of Hannibal. We hardly hear about Abella, except for its nuts, but it does not follow that it was because the town was subordinated to Nola.⁵⁹¹ Nothing can be gleaned from the sources about the extent of the territories of these cities and very little about their political organization.

5. 3. Coins

Coins showing the name of Nola appeared at an early date. Some 170 didrachms survive which bear the city's name.⁵⁹² They are related through iconographic similarities to the more than 360 *didrachms*, found in scattered hoards in Campania, which bear variations of the legend Hyrina.⁵⁹³ Both ethnics appear in the Oscan script, often mixed with Greek

⁵⁸⁹ Livy 23. 15. 3 - 6.

⁵⁹⁰ Strabo 5. 4. 8.

⁵⁹¹ Cato De Agr, 8. 2. 5; 133. 2. 4; Celsus De Agr. Fr. 30 line 8.

⁵⁹² Rutter (1979) 60-80 the coins show the legend ΝΩΛΑΙΩΝ

⁵⁹³ Legends (left to right) HVPIETES A S ; YDINA; YDINA; YPINA; YPINAI; YDINAI; YIDINA; YDIANOΣ; YDNVA; VDNAI; VDINA; VDINAI; (right to left) ANIDY; VNIDY; ANIDY; NIAS; ANEDY; ANIPY; ANIDY; DNIDY; ANIDV; ANIDV; DNIDV;

letters. Friedländer's view that Hyrina was the older name of Nola has been rejected, and today it is accepted that the location of this town cannot be ascertained.⁵⁹⁴

Rutter distinguished several phases in the minting of coins of Nola and Hyrina. On the obverses of the earlier Hyrina coins, the head of Athena appears wearing a helmet and occasionally with an owl. On later coins, a female head appears with a necklace, her hair freely flowing out of a *polos* (head dress) decorated with griffins; she is identified as Hera Lakinia. The latest coins bear either the head of Athena or a young female head. The earliest obverses of the Nolan coins show the same head of Athena, with helmet and owl, while the latest coins from the town show almost exclusively the same young female head as the Hyrina coins. All reverses show a man-headed bull, sometimes with Victoria flying above to crown him. Rutter argued that the man-headed bull should be identified with the river-god Achelous.⁵⁹⁵

The first centre of coin production in Campania was Cumae, beginning in the first quarter of the fifth century BC. When the Samnites occupied Cumae, production moved to Naples.⁵⁹⁶ There was a general increase in coin production in Campania from the late fifth century BC when the coinage of Samnite communities, some of whose names are known only from coins, appeared.⁵⁹⁷ Both Greek and Samnite coinages followed the iconography and weight-system of Cumae and Naples. Significant similarities of style and metal content between the coins of Naples issued from 420 BC and the coins of Nola and Hyrina have been recognized. Rutter dated the coinage of Hyrina to the last decade of the fifth century BC.⁵⁹⁸ The first Nolan coins were struck contemporaneously

⁵⁹⁴ Friedländer (1850) 36.

⁵⁹⁵ Rutter (1969) 24-8.

⁵⁹⁶ Rutter (1979) 96. See section 4. 2.

⁵⁹⁷ The ethnics Hyrina, Fenserni, Fistelian are known only from coins, their exact location cannot be ascertained.

⁵⁹⁸ Rutter (1969) 72 and 99.

with the late period of the Hyrina coins.⁵⁹⁹ The small number of Neapolitan coins suggests that in the period between 410 and 385/80 BC the coins of Hyrina and Nola dominated the coinage of Campania.⁶⁰⁰ Rutter also discovered several die-transferences among the coins of Nola, Hyrina, Capua, Fistelia, Allifae and those of the Fenserni, which prompted him to conclude that the coins of all these communities were struck for them in Naples.⁶⁰¹ Neapolitan coinage resumed after the Oscan coinages ceased.

The quantity of coins bearing the legend Hyrina is surprising, especially when we consider the short length of time within which they were issued. The close relationship between the issuing of coins and wars has long been recognized. Rutter argued that these Oscan coins were expenditure-driven and were minted in order to pay the Campanian mercenaries who fought with the Athenians against Syracuse in around 410 BC and later remained in Sicily to form part of the Carthage's help to Segesta.⁶⁰² Later, the Campanians fell out with the Carthaginians and were transferred to Libya.⁶⁰³ Rutter suggested that some of the soldiers probably returned to Campania, and that the coins of Hyrina and Nola were issued for these soldiers. They were paid after they returned home, which is why the coins were issued somewhat later. If this were right, we would have to assume that the 'Campani' of these events were Campanians mainly from Nola and Hyrina rather than Capuans, and that the troops were paid in silver bullion which they, or their states, got Naples to mint for them. The latter assumption is not implausible in itself: Naples apparently minted silver coins for Rome in the late fourth century BC.⁶⁰⁴ The more or less contemporaneous issues of Capua, Fistelia, Allifae and

⁵⁹⁹ Rutter (1979) 72-3.

⁶⁰⁰ Crawford (1985) 27 suggests that Cumae and Hyrina continued to strike didrachms until and perhaps beyond the middle of the fourth century BC.

⁶⁰¹ Rutter (1969) 185 and 207-8 and (1979) 73.

⁶⁰² Rutter (1969) 214.

⁶⁰³ Diod. 13. 80. 4.

⁶⁰⁴ Crawford (1985) 29-30.

the Fenserni may have been minted under similar arrangements. However, the occasions of these issues may have been local wars or building projects, unrecorded in our extant sources.

Rutter also compared the minting of coins by Naples for Hyrina and Nola to the production of coins within the Achaean league.⁶⁰⁵ In the Achaean league, the members of the league, rather than minting locally, gave silver to the federal treasury, which turned it into federal money. The ethnic of the communities contributing to the federal money appeared on the coins. Rutter admitted that the coins of the Achaean league have not been thoroughly studied and that the historical background of Campania is different from that of Achaëa. The hypothesis that Naples functioned as the federal treasury for the communities that had coins minted there would imply that all these cities and towns belonged to a federation headed by Naples, which is quite implausible. Nola therefore appears among a handful of Campanian communities for whom coins were minted in Naples in the first quarter of the fourth century BC. The coinage of Nola was produced in a short period and was inferior in size to the coinage of Hyrina. It is therefore implausible that Nola issued coins to provide money for a confederation of communities that it headed. Nor is it necessarily significant that no coins in the name of Abella are known.

5. 4. Epigraphic evidence

5. 4. 1. Magistrates at Nola and Abella

In this section I review the public magistrates who appear in the inscriptions of Nola and Abella. This leads to the next section where I discuss the Cippus Abellanus, which brings together the magistrates of the two towns and gives us an opportunity to study the relationship between them. I start with two inscriptions from Nola:

ST Cm 6, Ve 115, Co 93, Bu 42, Pi 17A. Found in the ruins of a temple. Date unknown.

n]iumsis heírennis. niumsieís[.] ka[-? -]

perkens. gaavíis.perkedn[eís -? -]

meddíss. degetasiús. aragetú[d

múltasíkúd]

Numerius Herennius Ca[..] son of Numerius

Percennius Gavius son of Percennius [-? -]

meddices degetasii with the money [of the fines.]

ST Cm 7, Ve 116, Co 94, Bu 43, Pi 17B, AION L 13 (1991) 242. Vetter suggested that the stone on which the inscription appears was a fragment of an altar. Now lost. Exact provenance and date unknown.

paakul. múlúkiis. marai(ieís) meddís

degetasis. aragetúd. múltas(íkúd)

Paculus Mulcius son of Maraeus *meddix degetasius* with the money of the fines.

⁶⁰⁵ Rutter (1979) 99-100.

The two inscriptions are evidence for an office of *meddix* in Nola qualified by the adjective *degetasius*. The first inscription shows that the office was collegiate with two or more current holders. These magistrates are attested dedicating objects paid for with money raised from public fines. Whatmough connected the adjective *degetasius* to the Latin *decem* and translated it into Latin as *decentarius*.⁶⁰⁶ He argued that it was a widespread practice in ancient Italy to offer Hercules tithes of crops, animals or booty either regularly or on particular occasions. Whatmough suggested that the most important duty of the *meddix degetasius* was the levying of fines for tithes not paid. Prosdocimi agreed with Whatmough and suggested that the word *degetasius* is connected to the tithe, but he supposed that it derives from the word *dekento/a*.⁶⁰⁷ He concluded that the *meddix degetasius* was a magistrate in charge of the collection of taxes and so was responsible for the public finances of Nola. Campanile, however, argued that the Oscan word for the tithe is δεκμας (gen. sing), which appears on an inscription from Rossano di Vaglio in Lucania, and did not think it plausible that two separate words existed for this tax.⁶⁰⁸ La Regina agreed with Prosdocimi about the etymology, but also points out that it is a compound of *dekenta* + *-asio* and could mean 'belonging to the group or committee of ten' like the Latin *decemviri*'.⁶⁰⁹ La Regina suggested that the adjective had a double meaning: it referred to the collectors of the tithe, who were also members of a committee of ten.

It is generally accepted that the office of *meddix degetasius* is related to both finances and the number ten. The adjective is unlikely to refer to a special duty of the officers which needed to be performed once every ten years, such as a *census*. The

⁶⁰⁶ Whatmough (1927) 106-7.

⁶⁰⁷ Prosdocimi (1980) 438-45; (1978) 863.

⁶⁰⁸ Campanile-Letta (1979) 22.

⁶⁰⁹ La Regina (2000) 218.

Romans held censuses every five years, and this was adopted by their allies as is indicated by the adjective *quinquennalis* which later appears in the titles of local magistrates in numerous inscriptions from across Italy.⁶¹⁰ So far, no inscription has been found with the adjective *decennalis*. Furthermore the word *degetasius* has no connection to the Oscan word for year, *acenei* (abl. sing.). La Regina's comparison of the office of *meddix degetasius* to the *decemviri* of Rome is not helpful. The decemvirate of 450/1 was an extraordinary committee, which replaced the regular magistrates of the year and was appointed to compile a law code.⁶¹¹ The *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* were a board of ten leading citizens responsible for lawsuits, to decide whether a man was free or slave. The *decemviri sacris faciundis* held their position for life and their task was the preservation of the Sybilline books.⁶¹² Boards of ten men or *decemviri* were appointed by the senate to carry out specific tasks, but this was not a regularly held office.⁶¹³

I now compare the Nolan magistrates with comparable magistrates in other Campanian inscriptions and at Rome. Dedications made from public fines are also attested at Pompeii, but the sundial inscription shows that it was a *quaestor* who performed this duty.⁶¹⁴ At Rome the *aediles* seemed to have exercised a similar authority. Numerous examples in Livy show that both plebeian and curule *aediles*, of which there were two pairs, prosecuted offenders on charges of contravening the limits on landholding and the use of pasture, a grain merchant for causing corn shortages, and

⁶¹⁰ *aediles quinquennales* at Tusculum: CIL XIV. 2579 and 2590 (from 186 AD). *aediles* of Formiae consisted of *aedilis quinquennalis solus* with censorial functions supported by two ordinary *aediles* of the settlement: CIL X. 6015, 6111. *Praetor* (sometimes called *duovir*) *quinquennalis* from Lavinium (Latins): CIL X. 797; CIL XIV p. 188. *Praetor quinquennalis* in Capitulum Hernicum: CIL XIV. 2960.

⁶¹¹ Livy 3. 32. 6.

⁶¹² Lintott (1999) 183-4.

⁶¹³ See section 5. 4.

⁶¹⁴ ST Po 4, ST Po 8 and the fragmentary ST Po 13?

moneylenders.⁶¹⁵ The *aediles* used fines to build sanctuaries such as those of Victoria and Faunus (on the island of the Tiber), erect statues of deities or give games in honour of gods.⁶¹⁶ The annalistic record is confirmed by one or two inscriptions.⁶¹⁷ At Pompeii the *quaestor* spent the money on a sundial by order of one of the town's councils and other inscriptions from Pompeii that mention the *quaestor* also show him acting under the direction of the two assemblies or councils.⁶¹⁸ Even at Rome, where the *aediles* appear to act independently, they must have secured senatorial approval for their dedications. The same was probably true at Nola, whose council (*senatus*) is mentioned by Livy and in the Cippus Abellanus.

I turn now to the recently discovered boundary inscription ST Cm 48, from the territory of Nola. The text was first published by Rix; Poccetti's interpretation is forthcoming. It probably dates to the second half of the second century BC.

k(e)r(ríns). statíis. k(e)r(ríneís) m. d. III

pz. staíis pz. m. d. k

p(a)k(is). kala[v]iis.p(a)k(ieís) m. d. [-?-]

v(ibis). af[-4/6-] m. d. III

tere[mna]ttens

Cerinus Staius son of Cerinus m. d. III

Pz Staius son of Pz m. d. k

⁶¹⁵ List based on Rathbone's compilation of sources in Livy: Rathbone (2003) 146, n. 36. Landholding: 7. 16. 9; 10. 13. 14; pasture: 10. 23. 13; 10. 47. 4; 33. 42. 10; 34. 53. 4, 35. 10. 11-12; aedilician convictions for unspecified offences: Livy 10. 33. 9; 27. 6. 19; 30. 39. 8; 31. 50. 2; 33. 25. 3. moneylenders: 7. 28. 9; 10. 23. 11-12; 35. 41. 9-10; grain merchants: 38. 35. 5-6.

⁶¹⁶ Sanctuary of Victoria: Livy 10. 33. 9; sanctuary of Faunus: Livy 33. 42. 10; statues for deities: Livy 27. 6. 19; 30. 39. 8; 31. 50. 2. The Publicii brothers in 241 or 238 BC used money from fines to fund the Floralia and the building of *clivus Publicus*: Ovid Fasti 5. 277-294; Varro, Ling. 5. 158; Vell. Pat. 1. 14. 8.

⁶¹⁷ CIL I² 1496 = CIL XIV 3678 from Tibur: M. Scaudius C. f., C. Munatius T. f. aediles aere multatíco.

⁶¹⁸ See section 6. 2. 1. 4.

Pacius Calavius son of Pacius m. d. [-?-]

Vibius Af[] m. d. III

defined it

The most important novelty of the text is the appearance of the titles *m. d. III* and *m. d. k*. It seems reasonable to suggest that *m.d.* stands for *meddix degetasius*, already attested at Nola twice, but the letter k and the three strokes raise new questions. The verb *teremnattens*, whose Latin equivalent is *terminaverunt*, appears several times in a Campanian context, but nowhere else in the Oscan-speaking territories.⁶¹⁹ The noun *teremniss* (dat.- abl. plur), *teremenniú* (nom.- acc. plur), on the Cippus Abellanus derives from the same root and is to be translated as *terminus*, 'boundary marker'.⁶²⁰ In English we should render the verb *teremnattens* as 'they defined the boundaries with marker'. The stone has no internal date, but we know that the consul L. Postumius was instructed to demarcate the public land from private in 173 BC in the *ager Campanus*. The demarcation of the public land probably was carried out around 165 BC, because we know that P. Lentulus, praetor, who was authorized to finish the demarcation of lands by buying lands out of private ownership in 165 BC, placed a bronze outline (*forma*) of public land in the *ager Campanus* in the *Atrium Libertatis*.⁶²¹ It is probable that lands in the region were delimited by local communities in the second century BC, of which this inscription is a general record. The abolition of Oscan as the official language after the Social war provides a *terminus ante quem*.

The text gives names of four magistrates, two with the title of m. d. III and one with the title m. d. k. The title of the other is lacunose: if we assume two pairs of

⁶¹⁹ The verb appears in two Pompeian inscriptions, ST Po 1 and 2 where the officials defined the extension of roads. It also ends an inscription of unknown provenance, ST Cm 47.

⁶²⁰ *teremniss*: ST Cm 1. A14; *teremenniú* ST Cm 1. A15, B31

⁶²¹ Rathbone (2003) 156.

magistrates, it would be m. d. [k], but it could be also m. d. [III] or something else. For a college of four magistrates in two pairs we could compare the *quattuorviri* of the Roman municipal model.⁶²²

Alternatively, the stone might name a group of commissioners sent out from Nola to determine the borders of public or sacred property. The senate at Rome appointed commissions of senators for various defined jobs, including land distributions. They were often ex-magistrates and of various ranks or even non-magistrates.⁶²³

Three public inscriptions from Cumae, ST Cm 4, 5 and 9 attest the office *m x*. I have suggested that interpretations of this title as *meddix degetasius* or as *meddix* of a board of ten colleagues are both possible. One tile-stamp from Campochiaro attests Gaius Papius Mutilus as *meddix tuticus x*.⁶²⁴ I have suggested that the letter *x* following this title implies that Gaius Papius Mutilus was a decennial *meddix tuticus* rather than being the member of a board of ten *meddices tutici*.⁶²⁵ It is unlikely that the three strokes here refer to membership of a college of three magistrates, because if the fragmentary title of Pacius Calavius son of Pacius, was followed by the three strokes, he would be the fourth *meddix degetasius*. The three strokes could either refer to a triennial office or, more plausibly, indicate that the *meddices degetasii* who were holding hold office for the third time.

We also need to consider what the letter *k* after the office of the second person of the four could stand for. It seems certain that the letter belongs to the office rather than to the name of the magistrate. It is not likely that the letter *k* is the abbreviation of the place where the officer comes from because in Oscan the names of towns are usually

⁶²² See section 6. 5. 2.

⁶²³ Gargola (1995) 60-3. Compare ILS 5946 of 117 BC: the brothers Q. M. Minucius Rufus and Q. Minucius Rufus, who were not holding office at the time, were instructed to resolve a border dispute between the people of Genua and the Langenses Veituri.

⁶²⁴ ST tSa 24: g. papi. mt. m. t. X. For further discussion see the 'Highland Samnites section'.

written out in full. Rather, I think that it was a special addition to the office, standing perhaps for *censor* or *quaestor*.

We have another boundary inscription, ST Cm 47, which will not be studied in detail here because no office is attested in the inscription, although the names of those appearing in the text will be considered in the section 5. 5. Similarities with the above boundary inscription must be noted: the text ends with the term *teremnattens*, used several times in inscriptions defining the boundaries of public, private and sacred property. The inscription attests the names of four individuals, which suggests that it might have been a local custom to send out boards of four to demarcate borders of properties.

We also have one relevant inscription from the town of Abella, ST Cm 8, Ve 137, Co 96, SE 58 (1992) 355-9.⁶²⁶ Its date and exact provenance are unknown.

maís vestir[ikiis]

mai(eiís) kv(aístur) terem[natted]

Maius Vestiricinus

son of Maius *quaestor* defined it.

This inscription, like ST Cm 48 and 47, may have been a boundary stone. Along with the *Cippus Abellanus* it attests the office of *quaestor* in Abella. The closest other examples of the office are the *quaestors* of Pompeii and of the *lex Osca* of *Tabula Bantina*, whose function, on the Roman model, was management of public finances.⁶²⁷

As at Pompeii and Rome, the quaestorship at Abella may have been collegial, perhaps a

⁶²⁵ See section 2. 4. 2.

⁶²⁶ Antonini (1992) 355-9. The stone is now lost, but the inscription is known from the publications of Passeri and Remondini, the latter of whom transferred the stone to the Museum of the Nolan Episcopal Seminary, after having found it in Abella.

pair, and primarily concerned with finance. Although it is not specified, the *quaestor* in this inscription, had probably been authorized by the senate to (re)define the borders of a property or road. The boundary stone inscription from Nola tells us that the *meddices degetasii* (III and k) defined the extent of something unknown to us. In contrast, at Pompeii it was the task of the *aediles* to delimit and pave a road.

5. 4. 2. Cippus Abellanus

ST Cm. 1, Ve 1, Co. 95, Bu 1, Pi 18.

Side A

¹ maiiúi. vestirikiúi. mai(eís). siíl(úi)

prupukid. sverruneí. kvaístu-

reí abellanúi. íním. maiiúi.

lúvkiúi. mai(ieís). pukalatúi

⁵ medíkeí. deketasiúi. núvla-

núi. íním. lígatúís. abellan[úís]

íním. lígatúís. núvlanúi.

pús. senateís. tanginúd

suveís. pútúrúspíd. lígat[ús]

¹⁰ fufans. ekss. kúmbened.

sakaraklúm. herekleís. [ú]p.

slaagid. púd. íst. íním. teer[úm]

púd. úp. eísúd. sakaraklúd[.íst].

púd. anter. teremníss. eh[trúís]

¹⁵ íst. paí. teremenniú. mú[íníkad]

tanginúd. prúftú. set. r[ehtúd]

⁶²⁷ ST Po 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 14,

amnúd. puz. ídík. sakara[klúm]
 íním. ídík. terúm. múíník[úm]
 múíníkeí. tereí. fusíd. [íním]
²⁰eíseís. sakarakeís. í[ním]
 tereís. fruktatiuf. fr[ukt]
 iuf. múíníkú. pútúrúm[píd]
 [fus]íd. avt núvlanú [s....]
 [...] herekleís fíisnú
²⁵ píspíd núvlan[.....]
 ---]-ip---z íst. -[-14/16- ²⁷⁻³²]

Side B

¹ ekkum. [svaí píd núvlanús]
 trííbarakavú[m hereset (?)]
 líímitú[m.] pərnúm. p[uf (?)]
 herekleís. físnú. mefi[ú]
⁵ íst. ehtrad. feihúss. pú[s]
 herekleís. fíisnam. amfr-
 et pert. víam. {pússtíst}
 paí. íp. íst. pústín slagím
 senateís. suveís. tangi-
¹⁰ núd. tríbarakavúm. lí-
 kítud. íním. íúk. tríba-
 rakkiuf. pam. núvlanús
 tríbarakattuset. íním
 úíttiuf. núvlanúm. estud
¹⁵ ekkum. svaí píd. abellánús
 tríbarakattuset. íúk. trí-
 barakkiuf. íním. úíttiuf.
 abellánúm. estud. avt.

púst. feíhúís. pús físnam. am-
²⁰ fret. eíseí. tereí. nep. abel-
lanús. nep. núvlanús. píðum
tríbarakat{.} tíns. avt. the-
savrúm. púd. e(í)seí. tereí. íst
pún. patensíns. múíníkad. ta[n]-
²⁵ gínúd. patensíns. íním. píð. e[íseí]
thesavreí. púkkapíð. ee[stít]
[a]íttíúm. alttram. altr[ús]
[f]erríns. - avt. anter. slagím
[a]bellanam. íním. núvlanam
³⁰ [s]úllad. víú. uruvú. íst. pedú X.
[e]ísaí. víaí. mefiaí. teremén-
[n]iú staíet

Side A

Lines 1-10: Maius Vestricius (son) of Maius (grandson?) of Silius? *prupukid* *sverrunéi quaestor* of Abella and Maius Lucius Puclatus (?) (son) of Maius, *meddix deketasius* of Nola, and the legates of Abella and the legates of Nola, who were legates of either side by the decision of their own (respective) senate, thus agreed:

Lines 11-16: the sanctuary of Hercules which is by the borderline and the land which [is] by that sanctuary, which is inside the external boundary stones, which boundary stones had been set up by common decree in a perfect circle⁶²⁸

Lines 17-22: so that this sanctuary and this common land should be on common territory and that this sanctuary and the land should be the common profit of both parties.

⁶²⁸ For the translation of r[ehtúd] amnúð. see Untermann (2002) under the appropriate entries.

Lines 23-26: But the Nolans...the temple of Hercules ... anything the Nolans ... is ...

Side B

Lines 1-11: Similarly if [any Nolan wishes]⁶²⁹ to build up to the boundary paths, where the temple of Hercules is in the middle, outside the walls which surround the temple of Hercules as far as the road which is there along the borderline, by the decree of either side's own senate let it be allowed to build.

Lines 11-19: And may that building which the Nolans will have built be for the use of the Nolans. Similarly, if any Abellan shall have built (something) may that building and (its) use be the Abellans'.

Lines 19-22: But on the land behind (ie. inside) the walls, which surround the temple, neither the Abellans nor the Nolans should build anything.

Lines 22-26: But when they open the treasury, which is on that land, they should open it by common decision.

Lines 26-28: And what may be in that treasury at whatever time, let each side receive that same share.⁶³⁰

Lines 28-32: But all along the Abellan and Nolan borderline there is a road 10 feet wide (and) in the middle of this road stand the boundary stones.

This large inscription was found in the territory of Abella in 1745. It is usually dated to the mid- to late second century BC.⁶³¹ It documents an agreement reached by

⁶²⁹ The second half of the line had been erased, scholars emended the text in the following way: Rix (2002): [svaí píð núvlanús] meaning 'if anything the Nolans'; Vetter 1 (1953): [svaí...11...], [si alterui] 'if either side'; La Regina (2000) 220: [svaí píð íússu ip] 'if something they there'.

⁶³⁰ Literally in Pulgram (1960) 21: let one side receive the other of the shares [ie. let each side receive a share].

Nola and Abella regarding the borders of the sacred land of the sanctuary of Hercules common to the two settlements, and where each community could erect buildings (for reconstructions of the sanctuary and its surroundings see map V). Although the Hercules sanctuary in question has not yet been identified, two sanctuaries have been found at Cimitile (north of Nola) and San Paolo Belsito (south of Nola), which are thought to have been built in the fourth or third centuries and probably restructured in the second century BC.⁶³² This text, which envisages new buildings, fits the picture of the second century BC as a time of building and restoration at extra-urban sanctuaries in the central Apennines. The two communities probably celebrated common cults in the Hercules sanctuary. Joint ownership of sanctuaries was widespread in antiquity: for instance the temples of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium and the one built by Servius Tullius on the Aventine were built for the common use of the Romans and Latins. Similarly, the sanctuary at Hamae was common to Cumae and Capua.⁶³³

The Cippus Abellanus begins with a list of the civic magistrates who made the agreement. Abella was represented by a *quaestor*, Nola by a *meddix deketasius*, both with other unnamed legates. The *quaestor* and *meddix degetasius* may be the only legates named because the stonemason could not be bothered to give the list in full, or possibly because the other legates were not magistrates in office. They were probably the senior members on each side. The name of the *quaestor* is the same as that of the *quaestor* Maius Vestiricinus son of Maius attested in the boundary inscription, ST Cm 8, discussed above. Here his name is followed by 'str', which might be an abbreviated *cognomen*, papponymic or perhaps a word linked to the next two words.⁶³⁴ Between his

⁶³¹ Franchi de Bellis (1988) and Pulgram (1960) 16 date to the mid-2nd BC; La Regina (2000) 214 dates it to 120-110 BC.

⁶³² Albore Livadie-Vecchio (1996) 256.

⁶³³ Livy 23. 35. 3. See also sections 3. 2. 4 and 3. 5.

⁶³⁴ Different readings of the possible filiation Ve 1 str; Cm 1 siñl; in La Regina sta;

name and his office (all dative singular) appear another two words, *prupukid sverrunēi*, both *hapax legomena*, which have been interpreted in a number of ways. *Prupukid* is in the ablative singular, *sverrunēi* in the dative singular. Most scholars have related these two expressions to the office of *quaestor*.⁶³⁵ They suggest a translation of *prupukid sverrunēi* as 'superintendent, supervisor by agreement'. La Regina instead suggests that the words are two *cognomina* meaning 'from the house/clan of Sverrunus'.⁶³⁶ But a 'clan' identity of this type would be unique, and if it was part of his name, we might expect it to appear also on the boundary inscription from Abella. It is possible that the 'str' was not a *papponym* or *cognomen*, but it was linked with the office and thus the *prupukid sverrunēi* could be interpreted as 'supervisor (of the sanctuary?) by agreement of str()'.

The name of the *meddix degetasius* of Nola is clear, Maius Lucius son of Maius, but before we come to his office we must examine the word, *pukalatūi*, which has also caused dispute. It is another *hapax legomenon*, but several scholars have pointed out that the stem of the word, *puklo-*, meaning *filius* or son, suggests that it is to do with family relations.⁶³⁷ Poccetti compared it to the Latin *patratus*, a 'person who has sons, but who himself is still a son', but the Latin *patratus* does not form part of people's names.⁶³⁸ La

⁶³⁵ Pisani (1953) 66. translates *prupukid* as '*ex praefinito*', that is 'from or by appointment', 'prescription'. Bottiglioni's (1954) 45 solution is quite similar to that of Pisani, '*pro pacto*', that is 'according to an agreement'. Franchi De Bellis (1988) 84-7, again similarly, translates it to Italian as 'in merito al patto', 'regarding the pact, agreement'. While Ve 1 suggests that we should understand *sverrunēi* as *designatus*, 'designate', agreed with the office. Franchi De Bellis for *sverrunēi* proposes the translation as 'superintendent', 'supervisor'. Untermann (2002) argues that the expressions *prupukid* and *sverrunēi* should be translated as 'the one who by pre-arrangement was to swear (the oath)'.

⁶³⁶ La Regina (2000) 217-8 The scholar suggests that the *prupukid* and *sverrunēi* refers to personal quality of some kind. On the one hand, he argues, if the word *prupukid* had any relation to the office, it would follow it on the inscription; on the other hand, according to La Regina, the word is in the ablative case and therefore it has no relation to the office. La Regina thus suggests the interpretation of the word *prupukid* as in Latin *natione/domo/tribu/signo*. The word *sverrunēi* would indicate the tribe, house or clan of Suerronus (maybe an inherited *cognomen*), where the individual came from, agreed with both the name and the office. Thus the name of the Abellan *quaestor* would be Maius Vestiricinus son of Maius Suerrus grandson Staius.

⁶³⁷ Vetter (1953) 10-1.

⁶³⁸ Poccetti (1986-9) 145-70.

Regina translates the word as *affiliatus* in the sense of *adoptatus*. There is one possible Roman example, involving a Papirius from Picenum, but there the word *adoptatus* appears as a second patronymic and does not seem to be a standard way of expressing adoption.⁶³⁹ Possibly, however, *pukalatúi* is a *cognomen*, Puclatus, or a papponymic.

The inscriptions from Nola studied in the previous section show the *meddix degetasius* making dedications from public fines and defining public land. The *quaestor* of Abella is also attested demarcating public space in the town. This is also the role of these magistrates in the Cippus Abellanus, although as members or commissions of unknown size. The notion that the *meddix degetasius* of Nola and the *quaestor* of Abella performed similar duties has raised some problems. Camporeale concluded that if they carried out the same tasks, they must have been of the same rank, which does not necessarily follow.⁶⁴⁰ At Rome, and hence in the Roman-influenced law of Bantia, the *quaestor* was a junior magistrate.⁶⁴¹ The position was also similar in Pompeii. On the other hand, at Iguvinum the Umbrian word *kvestur* is a late adoption of the title of the *quaestor*, which simply replaced the eponymous office of *uhtur* following Romanization, and so must have denoted the leading office of the state.⁶⁴² Franchi de Bellis also mentioned the *quaestor* of Supinum as a possible parallel for a *quaestor* as the supreme magistrate of a community.⁶⁴³ When other Italic peoples adopted the Roman title of *quaestor*, they did not necessarily use it to denote a magistrate of comparably junior rank.

Although the view that the *meddices degetasii* of Nola and the *quaestor* of Abella were both the supreme magistrates of their respective communities has been accepted by

⁶³⁹ La Regina mentions CIL IX 5523: L. Papiri C. f. Lem. Adoptati f. from Firmum Picenum, near the river Tenna.

⁶⁴⁰ Camporeale (1957) 36, 52

⁶⁴¹ ST Lu 1.

⁶⁴² Camporeale (1957) 54-6.

a number of scholars, I do not believe that we can come to a firm conclusion on the basis of the available epigraphic evidence.⁶⁴⁴ When the evidence is so scarce, we cannot be sure that there were no other magistrates in these towns.

The *Cippus Abellanus* mentions the senates of Nola and Abella twice: first, because each appointed a commission of ‘legates’ to settle the disputed issues about the common sanctuary (side A line 8), and second, because each senate would have to authorize any new building at the sanctuary (side B line 9).

The words *ligatús* (nom. plur.) and *ligatúis* (dat/abl. plur.) are unique to the *Cippus*, for they appear in no other Oscan text. Clearly the word is adopted from the Latin *legatus*.⁶⁴⁵ We have other derivations from the same stem (*lex*, *leg-*), in the Lex Osca Bantina, namely, *ligud* (abl. sing) and *ligis* (dat-abl plur.) meaning ‘law’, and in the Agnone Tablet, *Liganakdikeí*, the name of a divinity. Legates in Rome were appointed by the senate or a magistrate to carry out a particular task. Commissions of ten *legati* (*decemviri*) were frequently appointed by the senate from the third century BC on to resolve particular issues: in 204 BC they appointed a delegation to investigate a complaint by the Locrians;⁶⁴⁶ in 196 BC ten delegates were sent to assist T. Quinctius Flaminius in drawing up peace terms for Greek states.⁶⁴⁷ Delegations normally consisted of senators of different ranks, and sometimes included one or more magistrates in office. The Nolan and Abellan commissions use the Latin term *legati* and they were also appointed by the senates. These delegations may have consisted of ten men each, but considering that they were much smaller towns, perhaps only four members as in ST Cm 48 and ST Cm 47.

⁶⁴³ Franchi de Bellis (1988) 85.

⁶⁴⁴ Sartori (1953) 149-51; Campanile in Campanile-Letta (1979) 23; Mazzarino (1992) 246.

⁶⁴⁵ Camporeale (1956) 61 and Untermann (2000) under *ligatúis*.

⁶⁴⁶ Livy 29. 16. 6.

⁶⁴⁷ Pol. 1. 63. 1. Livy 33. 24. 7 and 34. 57. 1.

5. 5. Elite families

This section considers what the literary and epigraphic evidence tell us about the composition of the elite at Nola. In the accounts of the Samnite wars, some members of the Nolan leading classes appear by name, Herius Pettius, Herennius Bassius and L. Bantius.⁶⁴⁸ A bearer of the name Pettius, Lucius Pettius, appeared as *meddix* on two *iúvilas* inscriptions on stone in Capua, and it has been suggested that they were of Etruscan origin.⁶⁴⁹ A bearer of the name Bassius also appears in the boundary inscription ST Cm 47, as Minatus Bassius son of Minatus. In the same inscription the *praenomen* twice appears as *gentilicium*: Vibius Minatus son of Vibius and Ovius Minatus son of Ovius. The *gens* of the fourth person in the inscription, Percennius Mamus son of Maraeus, does not appear elsewhere, although Percennius is attested as *praenomen* in other Oscan-speaking territories.⁶⁵⁰

The second boundary inscription, ST Cm 48, provides us with three *gens* names: Statius, Staius and Calavius. The *gens* names Statius and Staius are widespread among the Oscan-speaking communities both in Campania and the Central Apennines. The *gens* Calavia is attested elsewhere in inscriptions: Stenius Calavius son of Trebius, occurs on a curse tablet from Cumae, while Stenius Calavius son of Gavius, is attested to have donated a gold ring to the goddess Angitia(?) in Aesernia.⁶⁵¹ The Calavii of Capua already mentioned in detail in the previous section.⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁸ Herennius Bassius: Livy 23. 43. 9 and 23. 44. 1. Herius Pettius Livy 23. 43. 9. L. Bantius: 23. 15. 7.

⁶⁴⁹ ST Cp 29 and 30. See sections 3.3 and 3.4.

⁶⁵⁰ Salomies (1987) 75.

⁶⁵¹ ST Cm 13; ST Sa 22.

⁶⁵² Livy 9. 7. 2; 9. 26. 7; 23. 2. 2; 23. 8. 2-8; 26. 27. 2. See also section 3. 4.

Out of the three *gens* names of the Nolan *meddices degetasii* of inscriptions ST Cm 6 and 7 only the *gens Gavia* is attested in other Oscan-speaking communities: it appears in the Punta della Campanella inscription, on a bronze curse tablet from Capua and painted on a fragment of an amphora found in Fagifulae.⁶⁵³ The *gens Herennia* appears only once, in Pompeii, whereas the *gens Mulcia* is unattested elsewhere.⁶⁵⁴

The names of magistrates in the *Cippus Abellanus* are also suggestive. The *gens Vestiricina* appears in both Abellan inscriptions and the same man is attested in two inscriptions out of three.⁶⁵⁵ It may be sheer chance, or perhaps because his family was careful to preserve its inscriptions.

In conclusion, a substantial part of the *gentes* attested at Nola appear elsewhere in Campania and Samnium, which confirms the picture of a regional elite suggested on the basis of Capuan inscriptions.

5. 6. Conclusions

The extant literary accounts of the Samnite Wars and the Second Punic War, concentrate on the role of Nola. Very little is said about Abella, but it does not follow that it was subordinate to Nola. Nola was among several Campanian communities which had Naples mint coins for them. The facts that the Nolan coinage was produced for a short period and was inferior in size to the coinage of Hyrrina makes it implausible that Nola issued coins to provide money for a confederation of communities that it headed. It

⁶⁵³ ST Cm 2, Cp 36, Sa 44.

⁶⁵⁴ ST Po 41, ma(mercus) herenni IIII n(erú).

⁶⁵⁵ ST Cm 3 and Cm 8.

is more plausible that the coins were minted for the payment of troops or building programmes within the town.

In inscriptions, Nola appears to have had a pair of *meddices degetasii*, Abella one or more *quaestor*. The Nolan magistrates are recorded dedicating buildings paid for with money from public fines, and defining the extent of public or sacred land. The *quaestor* of Abella also appears demarcating public land. Although the functions of the *quaestor* of Abella and *meddices degetasii* appear to have been similar, what we know about these offices is by no means the whole picture.

The fact that quaestors appear both in Abella and Pompeii does not mean that their functions were identical. It has been suggested that the appearance of quaestors in these towns is a sign of progressive Romanization or of their interest in integration into the Roman state.⁶⁵⁶ The office of *meddix degetasius* may have been an older Oscan title for an office which also had financial functions. The same or similar tasks may have been carried out by magistrates with different titles in different communities: the *meddices degetasii* of Nola, the *quaestores* of Pompeii and the *aediles* of Rome were all responsible for the levying of fines and for making dedications from these fines. Both the *meddices degetasii* and the *quaestor* of Abella were involved in the definition of public lands, whereas at Pompeii *aediles* are attested demarcating roads. This phenomenon of giving different names to the same or similar offices is also known from Greece, where the names of the magistrates differed from city to city. Contrary to ideas of an overarching Italic constitution, it seems that the specification and titolature of offices in Italic states was often a question of local preference.

The Cippus Abellanus reveals that both Nola and Abella had their own councils, a senate, which instructed or gave advice to the magistrates and legates of these two

towns. Literary sources mention disagreement between the senate of Nola and the commons, which may imply that Nola had a senate and a popular assembly.

In the Cippus Abellanus, Nola and Abella appear as independent communities with their own councils and magistrates. The sanctuary of Hercules was common and the two towns probably celebrated common cults there. I would conclude therefore that there is no good evidence in the literary sources, coins or inscriptions to suggest that Abella belonged to a confederation under the leadership of Nola.

⁶⁵⁶ Camporeale (1957) 36, 52, 99; Franchi de Bellis (1988) 87-90

Chapter 6. Pompeii and Nuceria

6. 1. Introduction

The view that the cities of the Sarno valley and plain, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiae and Surrentum formed a confederation under the leadership of Nuceria Alfaterna was put forward by Beloch in 1877.⁶⁵⁷ He also suggested, for the first time, that the *meddix tuticus* was the magistrate of the federation, whereas a *meddix* without the qualifying adjective was simply a local magistrate.⁶⁵⁸ His arguments regarding the public institutions of the confederation have been rejected, but the idea of the federation is still dominant in modern historical writing.⁶⁵⁹ The archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the region have increased since Beloch's time and models have been produced for leagues and confederations in antiquity, so that we can think about them in a more structured way.

Beloch, building on the notion that the region of the river Sarnus was inhabited by people of common origins prior to the Roman occupation, suggested that this population formed a political entity which he called the 'Nucerian Confederation'. Beloch's study is articulated within the framework of late nineteenth-century historical writing, which viewed ethnic groups as static, with fixed natural boundaries and primarily based on common descent. Nineteenth-century nationalism promoted the idea that ethnic borders were identical with political boundaries, and therefore tended to treat ethnic communities as states. Beloch based his argument on the following fundamental points.

⁶⁵⁷ Beloch (1877) 285-98.

⁶⁵⁸ Beloch (1877) 295.

1. He argued that the expression τὸ τῶν Νουκερίων ἔθνος in Polybius should be interpreted in a political sense, as a state organisation rather than an ethnographical situation.⁶⁶⁰ 2. The *gens* Sittia, who appear frequently in inscriptions in Roman Africa, held important offices in several towns of the supposed 'league', but were not important elsewhere in Italy. 3. Livy mentions that a Roman fleet disembarked in the port of Pompeii and that the soldiers proceeded to lay waste to the *ager Nucerinus* in 310 BC.⁶⁶¹ Beloch suggested that this passage proves that Pompeii formed part of the *ager Nucerinus* at that time.⁶⁶² 4. Livy says that Rome made a *foedus* with Nuceria in 307 BC, and Beloch argued that because the passage does not mention Pompeii, Surrentum, Stabiae or Herculaneum, the *foedus* applied to all the settlements, which, therefore, were part of an organisation headed by Nuceria.⁶⁶³ 5. Only Nuceria produced coins in this region in the Samnite period, from which Beloch concluded that the coastal settlements were economically dependent on Nuceria. 6. In Campania only Nuceria, Pompeii, Herculaneum and Surrentum were attributed to the *Menenia* voting tribe after the Social War. 7. The Nucerian P. Sittius, member of the *gens* Sittia, founded three colonies in the territory of Cirta in north Africa supposedly on the analogy of the Nucerian League: the capital was Cirta, the three colonies were dependent on it, and they were named after the patron gods of three of the members of the Nucerian Confederation.

Over a century after Beloch's article, Senatore questioned the existence of the Nucerian confederation.⁶⁶⁴ On the basis of a re-evaluation of the literary sources and numismatic data and examination of recent epigraphic evidence from the region, he

⁶⁵⁹ Sartori (1953) 154-5, Salmon (1982) 12, Frederiksen (1984) 141.

⁶⁶⁰ Beloch (1877) 290.

⁶⁶¹ Livy 9. 38. 2-3.

⁶⁶² Beloch (1877) 289.

⁶⁶³ Beloch (1877) 290.

⁶⁶⁴ Senatore (2001) 185-265.

rejects most of the basic points of Beloch's thesis. This section examines the evidence for the existence of the Nucerian League. While Senatore's article questions only the basic points of Beloch's thesis, I place more emphasis on what ancient sources tell us about the relation of towns in the region and the topics of leadership and public institutions in the settlements. The chapter first deals with the relevant literary evidence, which is divided into two sub-sections: the identity of the Alfaterni, and the political history of the region. The chapter then discusses epigraphic and numismatic evidence according to the place of provenance or relevance: first I concentrate on Pompeii, which yields the largest amount of inscriptions in the region, then I proceed to study the epigraphic evidence discovered at Herculaneum and Punta della Campanella, and I finally look at the numismatic evidence for Nuceria Alfaterna and the supposed confederation of Ciria.

6. 2. Literary evidence

6. 2. 1. Who were the Alfaterni?

Beloch argued that a passage in Servius, the occurrence of several members of the *gens* Sittia in the epigraphic evidence and the fact that the inhabitants of the region spoke the same language, Oscan, all point to the common origins of the inhabitants of the region.⁶⁶⁵ Adhering to the lines of traditional historical writing of his time, he

⁶⁶⁵ Serv. ad Aen. 7. 738: 'Conon in eo libro, quem de Italia scripsit, quosdam Pelasgos aliosque ex Peloponneso convenas ad eum locum Italiae venisse dicit, cui nullum antea nomen fuerit, et flumini quem incolerent, Sarro nomen inposuisse ex appellatione patrii fluminis, et se Sarrastras appellasse. Hi inter multa oppida Nuceriam condiderunt.'

investigated whether this ethnic relation corresponded to common political institutions in the area. Senatore rightly points out that Beloch did not consider several important aspects when writing about the ethnic conditions of the region.⁶⁶⁶ First, in ancient sources, the name of the leading town Nuceria is sometimes qualified by the adjective *Alfaterna*, and appears on coins as *nuvkrinum alafaternum*. This adjective helps us to distinguish the town from two other Nucerias, Nuceria Camellaria and Nuceria Favoniensis, both situated in Umbria.⁶⁶⁷ Perhaps the situations of Suessa Aurunca, Teanum Sidicinum and Teanum Apulum were similar. But in these cases the adjectives Auruncus, Sidicinus and Apulus are clearly ethnics: Suessa Aurunca was a settlement in the territory of the Aurunci, there was a Teanum among the Sidicini and another among the Apuli. On this analogy, Salmon referred to the Alfaternans in the same way as to the Aurunci or Sidicini, as if they were an ethnic community, and so did Pallottino and Sartori.⁶⁶⁸ But is it correct to speak about the Alfaterni as an ethnic community? And if so, were the Alfaterni Samnites? Or does the adjective appear to refer to a pre-Samnite period in the history of the town?

Our first passage comes from the mid-fourth century BC. Pseudo-Scylax, also known as Scylax of Caryanda, mentions that the coastal region between the Campani and Lucani was occupied by the Samnites.⁶⁶⁹ The problem of what this vast and somewhat hazy ethnic meant for Greek and Roman authors has been thoroughly discussed by Dench.⁶⁷⁰ She examines how the use of the ethnic 'Samnite' varied through time and according to the political and historical milieu in which the author was situated.

⁶⁶⁶ Senatore (2001) 201.

⁶⁶⁷ Devoto (1931) 106-7 also suggests that Nuceria was also Nuceriola too, for which we have epigraphic evidence on the road from Beneventum to Aeclanum, in the territory of the Hirpini.

⁶⁶⁸ Salmon (1967) 212; Sartori (1953) 154; Pallottino (1981) 92;

⁶⁶⁹ Ps. Skyl Per. 11; Strabo 5. 4. 8. inserts the Samnites in the list of those who held Herculaneum and Pompeii, after the Osci, Tyrrheni and Pelasgi.

⁶⁷⁰ Dench (1995).

The Greek authors of the fourth century BC tended to use the word in a very broad sense to denote the indigenous peoples of southern Italy, as opposed to the inhabitants of the Greek colonies. The Campani, Lucani and Bruttii are treated in literature separately from the Samnites from an early date. However, Greek sources of the fourth century BC rarely and imprecisely distinguish the tribes and ethnic communities emerging from the great mass of the southern regions of Italy.

The second part of the passage from Pseudo-Scylax speaks about the Samnites inhabiting the land stretching between the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic seas.⁶⁷¹ The passage is interesting, because it says that the Samnites were divided into five language groups or *glossai*: <A>λ<φ>ατέρνιοι, Όπικοί, Κραμόνες, Βορεοντῖνοι and Πευκετιεῖς. This passage has generated much debate among historians. The identification of the □Όπικοι with the Opici and the Πευκετιεῖς with the Picentes is plausible. The word λατέρνιοι has been emended to <A>λ<φ>ατέρνιοι, that is the Alfatemi. But Salmon's suggestion that we should identify the Κραμόνες with the Carracini and the Βορεοντῖνοι with the Frentani does not seem very convincing.⁶⁷²

Dench concludes that the ethnic name of Opici/Opisci or Osci was invented by Greek authors to reconstruct the prehistory of a group of Italic peoples living in the neighbourhood of Greek colonies.⁶⁷³ The name appears from the fourth century BC onwards in Greek texts and, without doubt, reflects the Greeks' increasing interest in their neighbours. They may have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the region, although there is a confusion in our sources as to who those were exactly. The Opici are first

⁶⁷¹ Pseudo-Scylax, Per 15. Μετὰ δὲ Ιάπυγας ἀπὸ Ωρίωνος ὄρους Σαυνῖται ἔθνος ἐστίν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ ἔθνει γλοσσαι (ἦτοι στόματα) αἶδε Αλατέρνιοι, Όπικοί, Κραμονες, Βορεοντῖνοι, Πευκετιεῖς, διήκοντες ἀπὸ (δὲ) τοῦ Τυρσηνικοῦ πελάγους εἰς τὸν Αδρίαν.

⁶⁷² Salmon (1967) 40 n 7.

mentioned by Thucydides, who says that they drove out the Sicels from mainland Italy.⁶⁷⁴ Other ancient sources say that they inhabited the central Apennines before the Samnites and most of Campania before the arrival of the Etruscans.⁶⁷⁵ Sources occasionally identify them with the Ausones. As regards the origins of the tribe of the Picentes, Strabo and Pliny the Elder mention that they were led out by the Sabines in a Sacred Spring. Dench argues that most of the Sacred Spring myths go back to expressing ethnic identity in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Exactly when the Picentes arrived at what became their tribal territory on the Adriatic coast cannot be established with certainty, but it must have happened before the fifth century BC.

We need to consider why Pseudo-Scylax used the word *glossa* to describe divisions among the Samnites. His work is traditionally dated to the mid-fourth century BC. Its main purpose was to construct a map of the Greek colonies on the coasts of Italy and to provide Greek travellers, probably merchants, with useful information about the nature of the inhabitants and distances between towns on the coast. In another passage Pseudo-Scylax reveals that he obtained his information about the region from the Greek colonies, not from the Samnites themselves. He identified territories by their inhabitants, who spoke different dialects of the same language. This is the kind of information that the Greeks living in coastal cities could have given to sailors enquiring about the nature of the inhabitants of the inner parts. It is possible, however, that these dialectic differences also reflected tribal divisions.

It would be interesting to look at the vocabulary used by fourth-century BC Greek authors to describe political institutions and ethnic divisions of tribes which had nothing in common politically or culturally with the Greeks at that time. The mention of the

⁶⁷³ Dench (1995) 53

⁶⁷⁴ Thyc. 6. 4. 5

<A>λ<φ>ατέρνιοι (perhaps Alfaterni) among the *Opici* and two other ethnic groups which are unknown to us makes it very difficult to establish the historical value of this passage. The Picentes could have formed an ethnic community on the Adriatic by the mid-fourth century and could therefore have been a reality of the author's time. But we need to remind ourselves that the name Alfaterni is an emendation in the passage and that it does not constitute strong evidence for the existence of such an ethnic community. Nevertheless, the two passages in Pseudo-Scylax reveal two important pieces of information: first, the population living to the south of the Campani and to the north of the Lucani on the coast was referred to by the Greeks as Samnite; and second, by the mid-fourth century BC, internal divisions in this great ethnic conglomeration of the 'Samnites' were becoming more apparent to the Greeks who were their immediate neighbours.

By the time of the Samnite Wars, the adjective *Alfaterna* had become an organic part of the name of Nuceria according to Livy and Diodorus Siculus. Diodorus noted that 'the inhabitants of Nuceria, which is called Alfaterna, yielding to the persuasion of certain persons, abandoned their friendship with Rome and made an alliance with the Samnites'.⁶⁷⁶ Livy recounts under 308 BC: 'The consuls cast lots for the commands, Etruria falling to Decius and Samnium to Fabius. The latter marched against Nuceria Alfaterna, and rejecting that city's overtures of peace because its people had declined it when it was offered them, laid siege to the place and forced it to surrender'.⁶⁷⁷ Diodorus Siculus describes how Nuceria Alfaterna entered the Samnite Wars, forming an alliance with other, already fighting, Samnite communities, while Livy's passage refers to how

⁶⁷⁵ Aristotle Pol. 1329b 19; Strabo 5. 3. 6; 5. 4. 3.

⁶⁷⁶ Diod. Sic. 19. 65. 7.

⁶⁷⁷ Livy 9. 41. 2-3.

the wars ended with the town being forced to surrender by the Roman commander Quintus Fabius Maximus.

It is conventionally accepted that the arrival of the Samnites at Capua occurred in the 430s-420s BC. Archaeological evidence suggests that Nuceria existed already in the sixth century BC, with a material culture that has been described as 'Etruscan'. It is clear from passages in Livy and Diodorus that by the time of the Samnite wars Nuceria was inhabited and dominated by the Samnites, and it is plausible that the town was occupied at the same time as the cities of north Campania towards the end of the fifth century.

Even if it is possible that *Alfaterna* derived from the ethnic of a group of Samnites who lived in the region of Nuceria, our literary evidence from the fourth century BC does not confirm such a suggestion. Diodorus Siculus does not speak about the Alfaterni who lived at Nuceria, but about the Nucerini who were called Alfaterni and who were the inhabitants of a single town. It is also clear from Livy's passage that Quintus Fabius besieged only the town of Nuceria Alfaterna. Furthermore, neither Greek nor Latin authors speak about Pompeii Alfaterni or Herculaneum Alfaternum.

Pliny, in the third book of his *Natural History*, draws up lists of towns and colonies in the regions instituted by Augustus. Two passages mention the Alfaterni by name. The first lists the Alfaterni among those communities which had disappeared from the territory of the Aequicoli in the fourth region.⁶⁷⁸ Thomsen suggested that parts of Pliny's lists, namely those which contained the communities in alphabetical order, went back to those published by Augustus.⁶⁷⁹ However, it seems doubtful that Pliny, quoting lists from the last quarter of the first BC, was speaking about the tribal movements of the fifth to early fourth centuries BC, considering that the so-called Alfaterni had to be at

⁶⁷⁸ Pliny NH 3. 108: 'in hoc situ ex Aequicolis interiere Comini, Tadiates, Caedici, Alfaterni'

⁶⁷⁹ Thomsen (1947) 60-1.

Nuceria by the time of the Samnite Wars. When Pliny mentions the Comini, Tadiates or Caedici he refers to inhabitants of settlements, so when he refers to the Alfaterni he must mean the inhabitants of a town of Alfaterna in the territory of the Aequicoli, who clearly do not have anything to do with the town of Nuceria in the Augustan first region.

Pliny divides his lists of settlements into two parts, listing the coastal communities separately from inland ones. It is interesting that the *ager Nucerinus* is listed among the coastal communities, for Nuceria itself was nine miles from the sea.⁶⁸⁰ Pliny the Elder is probably describing the situation after the Social War.⁶⁸¹

We encounter the Alfaterni for the second time in the list of settlements in the inland parts of the first region.⁶⁸² The passage reads 'the Alfaterni - those that take their surname from the Latin territory, and from the Hernican, and from the Labican'. Here again the Alfaterni have no connection to Nuceria. This passage has been interpreted in a number of ways. Thomsen suggested that Pliny drew his coastal lists from two separate lists, those of Varro and Augustus.⁶⁸³ Varro had Nuceria in his list, Augustus Nucerini Alfaterni. Thinking that he was dealing with two different settlements, he cancelled Nuceria from Augustus' list but retained Alfaterna. Later Pliny inserted the name Alfaterni in his list of communities in the internal part of the fourth region. The problem with this interpretation, as Senatore points out, is how to interpret the second half of the passage: 'those that take their surname from the Latin territory, and from the Hernican,

⁶⁸⁰ Plin. NH 3. 62. 4: 'On the coast stands Naples, itself also a colony of the Chalcidians, named Parthenope from the tomb of one of the Sirens, Herculaneum, Pompeii with the Mount Vesuvius in view not far off and watered by the river Sarno, the Nucerian territory and nine miles from the sea Nocera itself.'

⁶⁸¹ App. B. C. 1. 42. tells us that Papius Mutilus, the Samnite general occupied Stabiae during the Social War, while Nuceria remained loyal to Rome. Pliny NH. 3. 70., however, mentions that Stabiae was destroyed by Sulla during the wars in reprisal for its support of the insurgents. Stabiae may have lost its independence and its land were made part of the *ager Nucerinus*, which thus extended as far as the sea.

⁶⁸² Plin. NH 3. 63.

⁶⁸³ Thomsen (1947) 61.

and from the Labican'.⁶⁸⁴ Beloch noticed that in several manuscripts the verb *cognominantur* is missing. He suggested that we should cancel the conjunction 'et' and insert *Nucerini* after the *Alfaterni*. The scholar also tried to identify the three communities, the Latinienses, the Labici and the Hernici. I agree with Senatore's objections to Beloch's argument, that this addition disturbs the strict alphabetical order of the list.

In my opinion there is a further problem with Beloch's interpretation. Pliny clearly says *ex agro Latino*, using the adjective *Latinus*, therefore we should look for the settlement of the Latini and not Latinienses, which seems as problematic as the identification of the settlement of the Hernici. The only settlement which can be firmly identified is that of the Labicani.⁶⁸⁵ Senatore argues that Pliny's passage should be understood as Alfaterni Latini, Alfaterni Hernici and Alfaterni Labicani.⁶⁸⁶ Logically, the text has to refer to three different settlements called Alfaterna, one in the territory of the Latins, another in that of the Hernici, and the third in the territory of Labicum. But no settlements with such names are known in the territory of any of these peoples. He concludes that previous interpretations are insufficient to explain the problems arising from the text, and due to inherent uncertainties in the text, it does not provide us with valid information about problems concerned with Nuceria and the interpretation of the adjective *Alfaterna*.

In conclusion, the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax suggests that the territory stretching from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Adriatic was occupied by the Samnites, who were ethnically distinct from the Greeks inhabiting the coasts of southern Italy. In the list of the five *glossai* of the Samnites, 'Laternioi' has been emended to Alfaterni, but this is not

⁶⁸⁴ Senatore (2001) 204.

⁶⁸⁵ Cic. *Paradoxa Stoicorum* 23. 4; 50. 6.

very strong evidence for the existence of a tribe. The two passages about the Samnite Wars in the second part of the fourth century BC show that the adjective Alfaterna, whether an ethnic or not, was a designation of the town of Nuceria. These two passages refer to events relevant only to the town, not to a larger community. Coins with the legend *nuvkrinum alafaternum* (see in section 6. 6. 2) also support the idea that the adjective qualifies only the name of the town. In the passages from Pliny the Alfaterni are inhabitants of a town which has disappeared from the fourth region and they are not connected to the city of Nuceria in the first region. I therefore conclude that the ancient sources do not show that a tribe called the Alfaterni existed in the region of the river Sarnus. It is possible that the adjective Alfaterna originally derived from an ethnic denoting a larger group, and perhaps there had been some group in Latium called the Alfaterni of whom some had settled at Nuceria, but the Alfaterni, unlike the Sidicini, Aurunci or Apuli, were no longer an identifiable group by the fourth century.

6. 2. 2. Political history of the region

In this part, I focus on the historically attested relations between the towns in the area. The passage in which Diodorus Siculus mentions that the Nucerians abandoned the Roman alliance in 316 BC and joined the Samnites has been already cited.⁶⁸⁷ Historians have tried to understand why the Nucerians 'deserted' the Romans.⁶⁸⁸ I believe that the circumstances adequately explain this decision. Six years after the Roman defeat at the Caudine Forks, this was the most successful period for the Samnites. The Romans were

⁶⁸⁶ Senatore (2001) 206.

⁶⁸⁷ Diod. Sic. 19. 65. 7.

fighting on several fronts, in Apulia, at Luceria and in the valley of the Liris. In 318, the Volscian inhabitants of Satricum revolted and a substantial Roman army was sent out to fight them. In 316 BC, the Campani and Aurunci began to rebel against Rome and a Roman settlement, Ardea, was devastated by the Samnites.⁶⁸⁹ Soon the Samnites attacked Sora, resulting in the transfer of Roman legions from Samnium and Apulia to this town.⁶⁹⁰ Nola was already on the Samnite side.⁶⁹¹ It seems natural that Nuceria chose to form an alliance with the Samnites, since the Samnite alliance seemed more favourable under the circumstances than the Roman one. What is important to note, though, is that when Diodorus says οἱ δὲ τὴν Νουκερίαν τὴν Αλφατέρναν καλουμένην οἰκοῦντες he seems to be referring to the inhabitants of one single town, Nuceria. Perhaps Nuceria was specifically mentioned because the other nearby towns of Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiae and Surrentum were neutral or allied to Rome.

The next, often cited passage, is from Livy under 310 BC: 'At about this time a Roman fleet, commanded by Publius Cornelius, whom the senate had placed in charge of the coast, sailed for Campania and put into Pompeii. From there the sailors and rowers set out to pillage the territory of Nuceria. Having quickly ravaged the nearest fields, from which they might have returned in safety to their ships, they were lured on, as often happens, by the love of booty, and going too far abroad aroused the enemy. While they roamed through the fields, nobody interfered with them, though they might have been utterly annihilated; but as they came trooping back, without a thought of danger, the country-folk overtook them not far from the ships, stripped them of their

⁶⁸⁸ Senatore (2001) 220-2. Beloch (1890) 241.

⁶⁸⁹ Diod. Sic. 19. 76. 1.

⁶⁹⁰ Livy 9. 23. 1

⁶⁹¹ Salmon (1985) 243.

plunder, and even slew a part of them; those who escaped the massacre were driven, a disordered rabble, to their ships'.⁶⁹²

Beloch argued that Pompeii must have formed part of the supposed Nucerian league if the Roman fleet disembarked there to lay waste the territory of Nuceria. Neither Senatore nor Zevi are convinced by Beloch's argument on the grounds that if Pompeii had been subordinate to Nuceria it would have opposed the Romans.⁶⁹³ In my view all these scholars infer too much from Livy's abbreviated and unclear account of a minor operation. It was probably a small raiding party of Roman soldiers on ships provided by Greek allies.⁶⁹⁴ To attack Nucerian territory, they had to land at Pompeii, the nearest port. However, the territory which they plundered and farmers who resisted them may have been Pompeian. The passage proved nothing about the relations between Pompeii and Nuceria..

The attack of Fabius Maximus Rullianus on Nuceria is traditionally dated to 308 BC.⁶⁹⁵ Again, the passage concerns only Nuceria and does not mention other communities in the region. After 307 BC Nuceria became an ally of Rome and remained so until the end of the Social War. In his account of the Second Punic War, Livy says that Hannibal attempted to turn Nuceria to his side without any success.⁶⁹⁶ Eventually, Nuceria was made to surrender through starvation. Its inhabitants left and dispersed to Naples and Nola, the bases of Roman garrisons in Campania during the Hannibalic wars. Thirty senators, apparently the city council, tried to enter Capua but were refused

⁶⁹² Livy 9. 38. 2-3.

⁶⁹³ Zevi (1994) 11. Senatore (2001) 222-5.

⁶⁹⁴ Thiel (1954) 11 argued that Rome did not have a fleet at the time of the attack and that Nuceria must have been attacked by a small duumviral squadron, set up in the previous year

⁶⁹⁵ Livy 9. 41. 2-3: "The consuls cast lots for the commands, Etruria falling to Decius and Samnium to Fabius. The latter marched against Nuceria Alfaterna, and rejecting that city's overtures of peace because its people had declined it when it was offered them, laid siege to the place and forced it to surrender'.

⁶⁹⁶ Livy 23. 15. 1-5.

admission, so they made their way to Cumae.⁶⁹⁷ Nuceria was burnt and looted according to Silius Italicus and Valerius Maximus, who mentions the execution of some Nucerians by suffocation in the vapour of the public baths.⁶⁹⁸

Polybius, describing Hannibal's invasion of Campania in the Second Punic War, includes a short passage about the inhabitants of the Bay of Naples: 'On the coast lie Sinuessa, Cyme and Dicaearchaea and, following on, Naples and finally Nuceria. In the interior we find on the north Cales and Teanum, and to the east and south Caudium and Nola, while in the very middle of the plain lies Capua, once the wealthiest of the cities'.⁶⁹⁹ Polybius lists the urban communities of Campania in two groups, coastal and inland. Both lists are selective and the choice of towns is not easy to explain. The list of the coastal towns begins with Sinuessa, in the *ager Falernus*. However, the *ager Falernus* had another, strategically more important port, Minturnae, founded by the Romans in the same year as Sinuessa, 295 BC. The list omits Volturnum, Liternum and Misenum. It is therefore no surprise that two minor harbours, Herculaneum and Pompeii, are left out of the list of coastal towns. The inland list is even less complete. Polybius omits many important and well-known Campanian towns, such as Calatia, Suessula, Atella, Acerrae and Abella. The mention of Caudium is also puzzling for it did not belong to Campania.⁷⁰⁰ The only possible explanation for the inland list is that Polybius only included towns situated on roads. The *via Latina* was built in 127 BC, but the route was already in use from the sixth century BC. It crossed the Liris valley, went through Venafrum, Teanum Sidicinum, Cales and Volturnum to Casilinum where it merged with

⁶⁹⁷ Livy 23. 15. 6.

⁶⁹⁸ Sil. It. *Pun.* 12. 423-5; Val. Max. *Mem.* 9. 6 ext. 2. Senatore cites Pomeroy's study, who suggested that the baths, equipped to allow to suffocate people were built at the beginning of the 1st century BC at the earliest. See Senatore (2001) 229.

⁶⁹⁹ Polybius 3. 91. 4.

⁷⁰⁰ Several manuscripts also mention the Daunii, instead of Caudii, but we do not know about any settlement with this name in Campania, so that the text has been emended to Caudium.

the *via Appia*. The most important town on the *via Appia* was Capua. An extension of the *via Appia*, the *via Annia* (incorrectly called *via Popillia*) was built from Capua to Rhegium, through Nola, Nuceria, Nares Lucanae and so on. The only question is why Polybius preferred to include Nuceria in his list of coastal towns rather than of inland towns, in which he was later followed by the elder Pliny (see above).

The fact that Nuceria is listed among the coastal cities was explained by Beloch by his arguments that Nuceria exercised leadership over the communities of the coast. Senatore examines Polybius' use of the word ἔθνος.⁷⁰¹ In Polybius this term appears almost fifty times in relation to the Achaean League. He also uses a number of other terms to refer to the League, such as σύστημα, κοινόν, συμπολιτεία, πολίτευμα and κοινόν πολίτευμα. Senatore argues that none of these is used when speaking about the region of the Sarno, so that the expression τὸ των Νουκερίνων ἔθνος only has ethnographic value without any political connotations. Scholars of Greek history now agree that the term ἔθνος in different contexts can be understood both as 'league' or 'an ethnic unit without any political meaning'.⁷⁰² Beloch and Senatore choose a different interpretation to accommodate Polybius' passage into their argument, which warns us how difficult it can be to interpret a term used to describe realities different from the Greek political system. Hall pointed out that the meaning of the term ἔθνος is much wider than that of an 'ethnic group' and that it can be applied to populations of various size from the inhabitants of a *polis* to the population of a larger territory, but that it can also simply mean 'tribe'.⁷⁰³ It is important to note that Polybius seldom uses the expression ἔθνος in an Italian context. When he refers to communities organized in a

⁷⁰¹ Senatore (2001) 208-10.

⁷⁰² Bearzot (1994); Sordi (1994); Larsen (1968).

loose federation of settlements he uses the ethnic, for example in the case of the Bruttii. Apart from the Nucerians the only people to whom he applies the term (twice) is the Celtic tribe of the Insubres in the Po valley. Admittedly, after the Κυμαῖοι, Δικαιαρχῖται and Νεαπολίται Polybius calls them Νουκερίνων ἔθνος instead of Νουκερίνοι, but he may have wanted to use a variation to close the sentence. It is also possible that Polybius thought of the inhabitants of the Sarno valley as a bunch of barbarians, not worthy of individual mention, in contrast with the inhabitants of the Greek colonies. This division of Campania also appears in Strabo and Ptolemy, who consider Cumae and Naples Campanian, but Herculaneum and Pompeii Samnite.⁷⁰⁴ The question of why Nuceria is listed among the coastal towns, when the *via Annia* ran through it remains elusive, although, compared to Capua, for instance, it was coastal.

In his description of the Bay of Naples, Strabo mentions Naples, the Heracleian Fortress (i. e. Herculaneum) and then Pompeii. 'Pompaia past which flows the River Sarnus, was once held by the Osci; then by the Tyrrheni and the Pelasgi; after that, by the Samnites but they too were ejected from the place'.⁷⁰⁵ He then continues: 'Pompaia, on the River Sarnus - a river which both takes the cargoes inland and sends them out to the sea - is the port town of Nola, Nuceria and Acerra'.

Pliny the Elder mentions Nuceria three times, two of which I have already discussed. The third mention comes in a list of the communities of the Bay: 'On the coast stands Naples, itself also a colony of the Chalcidians, named Parthenope from the tombs of one of the Sirens, Herculaneum, Pompeii with Mount Vesuvius in view not far off and watered by the river Sarno, the Nucerian territory and nine miles from the sea

⁷⁰³ Hall (1997) 34.

⁷⁰⁴ Strabo 5. 4. 4; Ptolemy 3. 173.

⁷⁰⁵ Strabo 5. 4. 8.

Nocera itself, and Sorrento with the promontory of Minerva that once was the abode of the Sirens'.⁷⁰⁶ This passage is another list of coastal towns. As already pointed out, it refers to the period of the late Republic to early Principate and cannot be used for reconstructing relations among the communities in the Samnite period.

What all the previous passages suggest is that Nuceria was an important town of the region, considered to be coastal, which was in alliance with the highland Samnites during the Samnite Wars. After having been defeated by the Romans, it became an ally and remained so until the Social War. During the Second Punic War the town entered history for its strong resistance to the Carthaginians. Beloch's view that the lack of mention of the other communities in the region implies their political subordination to Nuceria is an *argumentum ex silentio* and does not seem well founded in view of the literary evidence.

6. 3. Political institutions at Pompeii

6. 3. 1. Introduction

The central tenet of Beloch's arguments about the magistrates of the Italic states is that the *meddix tuticus* was a federal magistrate.⁷⁰⁷ Beloch based his argument on evidence mainly from Pompeii and Capua. He noted that there were local officers, such as the *aediles* and the magistrates with civic adjectives, for example, in Pompeii, the *meddix*

⁷⁰⁶ Pliny NH. 3. 62-3.

⁷⁰⁷ Beloch (1879) 11.

Pompeianus and *quaestor Pompeianus*.⁷⁰⁸ Beloch's view that the *meddix tuticus* was a federal magistrate has since been criticised by many scholars. The aim of this section is to re-evaluate the evidence for the public offices attested at Pompeii in inscriptions, and to investigate whether any of them could have had more than a local competence.

One of the basic problems of dealing with the Oscan inscriptions of Pompeii is that most of them have been removed from their original context. Sometimes this happened in antiquity following the foundation of the Sullan colony when some stones with Oscan inscriptions on them were reused as building material. Inscriptions found in private houses are particularly good examples of this, which can be seen as an attempt by a member of a family to preserve the inscriptions set up by an ancestor or as antiquarian curiosity. In modern times, the majority of Oscan inscriptions found during the eighteenth century were taken to the Archaeological Museum of Naples without their place of origin being satisfactorily recorded. Once the town was excavated, many painted inscriptions faded from the walls due to contact with daylight and weathering. There are several inscriptions that Zvetaieff and Mommsen could read but which had already disappeared by the time Conway undertook his work.

Because of the lack of historical and certain archaeological contexts it is difficult to date the Pompeian inscriptions. Campania came under Samnite rule in the second half of the fifth century BC. It seems reasonable to suppose that around that time Oscan-speaking inhabitants also settled in the southern parts of the Bay of Naples. As we have seen, Livy refers to Pompeii for the first time in 310 BC. It is plausible that by this period the political structure of the settlement was Samnite, although there is no literary evidence. After 89 BC the official language became Latin. In 80 BC, the Samnite administration was abolished with the foundation of the *Colonia Cornelia Veneria*

⁷⁰⁸ Beloch (1877) 295.

Pompeianorum. Oscan inscriptions of Pompeii potentially date from a period of over 300 years, although most of the inscriptions are probably from a late date. We have archaeological contexts for most of them, but in cases of public inscriptions found in private houses, the location cannot help us establish the time when the inscription was originally set up. Most of the inscriptions are broadly dated to the second century BC, when a large part of the city's public buildings were reconstructed and numerous private houses built.

Conway created a system of dating the inscriptions of Pompeii. He divided the Oscan inscriptions into three chronological groups 'according to the degree of finish with which they are written, and the forms of f and d, whose loops are open in earlier and closed in later inscriptions'.⁷⁰⁹ This system, however, needs to be handled with extreme care.⁷¹⁰

In this section I follow that a dating based on the archaeological contexts wherever available:

Dating	Refence number	Archaeological reference	Office
second part of third century BC	ST Po 15	Antonini (1983) 204.	aedilis
	ST Po 16	Caratelli (1979) 454	aedilis
	ST Po 4	Carratelli (1979) 473	quaestor

⁷⁰⁹ Conway (1897) 56.
⁷¹⁰ Rix reconstructed the ST Po 2 road-maker inscription out of two, Ve 9 and 10 (= Conway 40 and 41). Conway attributed inscription 40 to the second chronological group, but not 41, since that fragment does not contain the f not d letters which are his criteria of dating. ST Po 91 has the same as ST Po 5 and 6 therefore must have been made around the same time.

late third, early second century BC	ST Po 1	Caratelli (1979) 454. Capaldi (2001) 26.	meddix pompeianus, aedilis
	ST Po 2		aediles
beginning of second century BC	ST Po 11	La Rocca, de Vos, Coarelli (1976) 264.	aedilis
first half of second century BC	ST Po 5	Capaldi (2001) 26.	meddix tuticus
	ST Po 6		meddix tuticus
	ST Po 8	Capaldi (2001) 27.	quaestor
middle of second century BC	ST Po 14	Lo Cascio (1986) 12.	quaestor
second century BC	ST Po 7	Waele (2001) 323	meddix tuticus
	ST Po 3	Capaldi (2001) 26.	quaestor
	ST Po 9	Capaldi (2001) 26.	quaestor
	ST Po 10		quaestor

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Rix divided the Oscan inscriptions of Pompeii into four groups by type. The first consists of inscriptions engraved in stone, and includes road-building inscriptions, foundation and dedication inscriptions and the so-called *mensa ponderaria* (ST Po 1-19). The second contains fragmentary stone and wall inscriptions, names of gods, graffiti and alphabets: ST Po 20-33, ST Po 40-103. The third consists of painted inscriptions on walls: the six *eítuns* inscriptions (ST Po 34-9, see map nr. 1-6) and the electoral programmata (ST Po 40-50). The fourth comprises the tile stamps (tPo 1-43).

6.3.2. *Meddices*

The inscriptions of Pompeii provide us with a number of references to *meddices*. The title *meddix tuticus*, *meddix pompeianus* and *meddix* by itself are attested.

A straightforward inscribed attestation of the *meddix tuticus* is ST Po 7, Ve 15, Co 47, Pi ad 12E, SE 45 (1977) 326 (see map VI). Found on a travertine block of the epistyle of the round Doric temple in the Triangular Forum. It is now dated to the second century BC.⁷¹¹

ni(umsis). trebiis. tr(ebieís). med(dís). túv(tíks). ²aamanaffed

Numerius Trebius son of Trebius *meddix tuticus* commissioned (this temple).

Two inscriptions probably attest the same *meddix tuticus*. First, ST Po 5, Ve 13, Co 44, Bu 7, Pi 12 B, SE 45 (1977) 326. Found in the Street of the Merchants.

v(iībis). púpidiis. v(iībieís). med(dís). túv(tíks) ²passtata. ekak. úpsan(nam).
³deded. ísídu. prúfatt(e)d

Vibius Pupidius son of Vibius *meddix tuticus* commissioned the construction of
this colonnade. He himself approved it.

The colonnade has been tentatively identified as the tufa portico on the southern side of
the Forum of Pompeii. On this basis, the text is usually dated to the first half of the
second century BC. Note that a Latin inscription records the building of the colonnade
round the other side the forum by another member of the same clan, Vibius Popidius Ep.
f. q, (see in section 6. 3. 6).⁷¹²

Second, ST Po 6, Ve 14, Co 45, SE 61 (1995) 357. The inscription was found re-
used in the inner arch of the Nolan gate near the keystone. The original object of the
dedication is unknown. Because this text probably refers to the same person as the
previous one, it is also dated to the first half of the second century BC.

v(iībis). púpidiis. v(iībieís). ²med(dís). túv(tíks) ³aamanaffed ⁴ísídu ⁵prúfatted

Vibius Pupidius son of Vibius *meddix tuticus* commissioned. He
approved it.

The same name also occurs in a painted inscription on a fragment of a wine-amphora,
ST Po 91, Ve 71, Nsc 1929, 476. The fragment is now lost and the excavator did not
give any indication of the type and date of the amphora.

v(iīb-). púpíd(i-). v(iībieís). m(e)d(d-)

(When?) Vibius Pupidius son of Vibius (was) meddix.

⁷¹¹ De Waele (2001) 323.

⁷¹² CIL X 794.

Presumably the *dipinto* was meant to date the year when the product, wine or oil, was put into the amphora. Similar usage of the eponymous magistrate's name on amphorae is well known from some parts of the Greek world.⁷¹³ Assuming the *dipinto* was local, it indicates that Pompeii had a single, annual eponymous chief magistrate.⁷¹⁴ The offices attested in Pompeii are *meddix tuticus* and also *meddix Pompeianus* (see below).⁷¹⁵ Since a man of this name is attested as *meddix tuticus*, this may well be another reference to him, which simply omits the adjective as unnecessary in the context, although it could be a relative who held the same office. Although the abbreviation m d, if it is not an error for m t, *meddix tuticus*, or m p, *meddix pompeianus*, is unique for m(e)d(díkiai), 'in the meddicate of', locative of time, as proposed by Vetter and Rix on the analogy of inscriptions from Capua or for m(e)d(dix) in the nominative or ablative, as on the tile-stamps of the Pentri, no other interpretation is plausible. As Sartori argued, the *meddix* here is probably the *meddix tuticus*.⁷¹⁶ Furthermore, if m d stands for m(e)d(díkiai), in the locative case, the adjective *tuticus* adjective had to be omitted, because the locative in Latin cannot have an adjective.

In the tile-stamps of Pompeii (ST tPo 1-43) 35 different names can be distinguished, most with *praenomen* and *nomen gentilicium*, several also with filiation.⁷¹⁷ It is an open question as to whose names are recorded on the stamps. One possibility is that they are workshop owners, as in later Roman practice, but it is unlikely that there were over 35 different workshops producing tiles in Pompeii. Another

⁷¹³ Grace (1953) 116-28.

⁷¹⁴ It is unlikely that m d means names meddix of d(...), another town, because town names are not usually abbreviated in Oscan, and the man is probably Pompeian.

⁷¹⁵ The title of *meddix degetasius*, attested at Nola in sections 5. 4. 1 and 5. 4. 2, is not known in Pompeii.

⁷¹⁶ Sartori (1953) 21.

⁷¹⁷ ST tPo 13: l. titi. l; ST tPo 32-35: ev. he. kai, ev he. kai; ev he kai; mr. k. l; For the complete list of names occurring in the tile-stamps see 6. 3. 7.

possibility is that they are the owners of the houses, where the tiles were used, which is equally unconvincing. Comparison with the tile-stamps of the Pentri suggests that the names could be those of the *meddices tutici* of Pompeii, used to date production.⁷¹⁸ However, no title appears on the Pompeian stamps.

A *meddix Pompeianus* is attested in ST Po 1, an inscription which records that two *aediles* were authorized by the *meddix Pompeianus* to delimit a street.⁷¹⁹ The office seems to be single and superior to that of the *aediles*. His name does not appear in the inscription, because he is not the dedicator of the stone. As at Capua, where *meddix kapuans* seems to have been the alternative designation for the Capuan *meddix tuticus*, the title *meddix pompeianus* was probably an alternative designation for the *meddix tuticus* for Pompeii.

6.3.3. *Aediles*

We have six Oscan inscriptions mentioning *aediles* from Pompeii. The title does not appear in any other town in pre-Roman Campania. The office appears in inscriptions as *aidil*, *aidil* or *aidilis* (nom. pl.). The *aedilis* inscriptions of Pompeii can be divided into two groups. The first group is formed by two inscriptions in which pairs of *aediles* delimit and pave streets. In the second group the *aediles* are recorded as donors and dedicators. This group is made up of three inscriptions, one of which documents a pair of *aediles*, the rest single ones.

⁷¹⁸ For list of names see section 2.4.2.

⁷¹⁹ See map nr. 13. I will deal with the inscription in detail when I come to the *aediles*

The longest Oscan inscription mentioning a pair of *aediles*, ST Po 1, Ve 8, Co 39, Bu 3 Pi 10, SE 45 (1977) 324 (see map VI), was found close to the Stabian Gate in 1851, and records the marking out and construction of two streets. The inscription must have been placed somewhere in the vicinity of the oldest city-gate, close to the roads mentioned by the inscription. It is dated to the late third-early second century BC.

m. siuttiis. m. n. púntiis.m[?]. ²aídilis. ekak. víam. teremna ³[t]tens. ant. huntram.⁷²⁰ stafīi⁴anam. víu. teremnatust. per(ekaís). ⁵X. íussu. vía. púmpaiiana. ter ⁶emnattens. perek(aís). III. ant. kaí⁷la iúveís. meeílíkieís. ekass. ví⁸ass. íní. via. iúviia. íní. dekkvia⁹rím. medíkeís. púmpaiianeís ¹⁰serevkid. imaden. uupsens. íu¹¹su.aídilis. prúfattens.

M. Sittius son of M, Numisius Pontius son of M., *aediles*, laid out this road up to the lower Stabian bridge. The street is laid out to the width of 10 measuring rods. The same (magistrates) laid out the Pompeian street to the width of 3 measuring rods up to the building of Jupiter Meilichios. They built these streets and the Jupiter and the *Dekkviaris* under the authority of the *meddix* of Pompeii and they paved it (?). The same *aediles* approved this.

There are some words in the text whose meanings are not clear (such as *kaila*, *dekkviarim*, *imaden*), but it seems certain that the work of the *aediles* was supervised by the *meddix Pompeianus*. The *aediles'* responsibility also included the checking of the completion of the road works.

The other road building inscription, ST Po 2, Ve 9+10, Co 40+1, SE 45 (1977) 324-6, SE 47 (1979) 223-8, SE 49 (1981) 331-3, was reconstructed by Rix out of two

⁷²⁰ Gulino has found archaeological and topographical basis for the reading of huntram. stafīi ⁴anam as puntram stafīi ⁴anam meaning Stabian bridge in Gulino (1986) 394. The idea comes from Vetter (1953) 48.

fragmentary inscriptions, Ve 9 and Ve 10 (see map VI).⁷²¹ The similarities of the stones had already been noted by Conway.⁷²² It is usually dated to the first half of the second century BC.

p. mati[is] p. ni(umsis). mar[aiis] ²aídili[s v]íam sar[ínam] ³teremnattens[ínim
fi]⁴r[í]mens[.] viu. pat[ít. per(ekaís. III]

P. Matius son of P. Numisius Maraius son of P. *aediles* laid out the Sarina street and paved it. The road is 3 measuring rods wide.

Two *eítuns*-inscriptions, ST Po 34 and ST 35 also attest the *veru sarinu*, that is Porta Sarina in Latin, on the basis of which it is identified with today's Porta Ercolano.⁷²³ It seems plausible that the *via Sarina* was one of the streets in the vicinity of the gate, and can be identified with today's *via Consolare*. The end of the *aediles* inscription is missing, but Rix suggested that the last line of the inscription documented either the width or the length defined by poles (*perekaís*) as in ST Po 1.

The inscriptions of the second group come from sanctuaries. A suburban temple dedicated to Dionysus, in modern via S. Abbondio, south-east of Pompeii, provides us with two *aediles* inscriptions. ST Po 15, Pocc. 108, Antonini (1983) 205-7, 6 is made of small stones and forms part of the mosaic pavement at the entrance of the temple. The inscription just gives the names of the two magistrates: O. Epidius son of O. and Tr. Mezius son of Tr. *aediles*. These magistrates had presumably dedicated the pavement or as at Schiavi d'Abruzzo, the whole temple, in the second half of the third century BC. The other inscription, in fact two inscriptions, comes from the sides of an altar belonging

⁷²¹ Rix (1979) 223-8.

⁷²² Conway (1897) 59.

⁷²³ Vetter (1953) 55.

to the sanctuary, ST Po 16, Pocc. 107, Antonini (1983) 202-3, 5 and attests a single *aedilis*. The inscriptions date from the second part of the third century BC.⁷²⁴

ʳm(a)r(a(hi)s). atiniís. mr. ádil. suvad. éitiuvad

ʷm(a)r(a(hi)s). atiniís. mr. ádil. suvad. éitiuvad

Maraeus Atinius son of Maraeus *aedilis* (built this altar) at his own expense.

Maraeus Atinius son of Maraeus *aedilis* (built this altar) at his own expense.

The inscriptions emphasise that the altar was set up with the magistrates' own money.

Another single *aedilis* is attested in ST Po 11, Ve 20, Co 53, Bu 12, SE 45 (1977) 327-8 which was inscribed on a travertine base, found in the House of the Faun (8. 6. 12, see map VI), probably not its original location. The inscription is usually dated to the first half of the second century BC.

v(iíbis). sadiriis. v(iíbieís). ádil

Vibius Sadrius son of Vibus *aedilis*

It is certain that the *aedilis*, V. Sadrius son of V, was the dedicator of the object set up on the base, probably a statue of a deity.

Another fragment of an inscription, ST Po 32, on a stone altar preserves the letters aí]dil[, and may represent another aedile.

ST Po1 shows that the office of the aedile was a Pompeian one, because the *aediles* are under the authority of the *meddix Pompeianus*, who is undoubtedly a local officer. In the public road-building inscriptions they appear as a pair, but as private donators they act singly. Probably, comparing them to Rome, there were two annually elected *aediles*. The role of the *aediles* at Rome in the Republic was to keep the streets, market places and temples clean, and to ensure that Rome received her wheat and water

⁷²⁴ Carratelli (1979) 473. The dating of the inscriptions is guided by the dates of the construction of the temple.

supply uninterrupted and to give games; this all involved private expenditure. Occasionally, they appear as magistrates prosecuting offenders against a wide range of laws and public regulations.⁷²⁵ Although the attested responsibility of the Pompeian *aediles* is limited by the inscriptions at our disposal to the public repair of streets, this suggests that their functions were similar to those of the *aediles* of Rome, from whom the title had been borrowed.

6.3.4. *Quaestores*

Six stone inscriptions attest the office of the *quaestor* in Pompeii. Five fragments record single officers dealing with different kinds of financial transactions and one inscription proves that the office was collegial. We also have evidence for the existence of a *quaestor Pompeianus*. The texts use the spellings *kvaizstur* and *kvaisstur*.

First, ST Po 8, Ve 16, Co 48, Bu 10, Pi 12C, SE 45 (1977) 326-7 found re-used in the House of Cornelius Rufus (Strada dell'Abbondanza, 8. 4, see map VI)

m(ina)z.avdiis.klí. ²dekis.seppiis.úpf(alleís). ³kvaizstur.upsens⁷²⁶

Minatius Audius son of Cle (...). Decius Seppius son of Offellus *quaestores* built this).

It is not clear whether *kvaizstur* is a plural noun, but the verb *upsens* is plural. So the two men built something together. Probably, although we cannot be sure, both were *quaestor*.

⁷²⁵ Lintott (1999) 129-33.

⁷²⁶ M(ina)tus Audius Cle. filius, D. Seppius Off. filius questores fecerunt

The least fragmentary *quaestor* inscription is ST Po 3, Ve 11, Pi 11, Co 42, Bu 4, SE 45 (1977) 326. (8. 7 29, see map VI). It was found in the so-called Palaestra Sannitica between the Temple of Isis and the Forum Triangolare. The nicely engraved letters show the characteristics of the latest phase of the Oscan alphabet, according to Conway.⁷²⁷

v(iibis). aadirans. v(iíbieís) eítiuvam. paam ²vereiiaí. púmpaiianaí. trístaa ³mentud. deded. eísak. eítiuvad ⁴v(iíbis). viínikiís. mr. kvaísstur. púmp ⁵aiians. trífbúm. ekak. kúmben ⁶nieís. tanginud. úpsannum ⁷deded. ísídum. prúfatted

The money, which Vibius Atranus son of Vibius gave in his will for the youth of Pompeii, with this money Vibius Vinicius son of Maraeus, *quaestor* of Pompeii, commissioned the construction of this building by the decree of the council. He himself approved it.

The building in which the inscription was set up, the Curia of Isis, was described by Nissen as a gymnasium.⁷²⁸ De Vos, however, points out that the building was too small for such a purpose.⁷²⁹ It was probably the seat of the Pompeian *vereia*, an organization well known from Cumae.⁷³⁰ The fact that the *quaestor* is involved shows that it was public money which had been willed to the *vereia*. It is important to note that the office of the *quaestor* is qualified by the adjective *pompeianus*.

The next four inscriptions also mention single *quaestors*. The first, ST Po 4, Ve 12, Co 43, Bu 5, SE 45 (1977) 326 (7.1, see map VI), was found in the Stabian Baths beneath the sundial. The name of the officer, Maraeus Atinius son of Maraeus, also

⁷²⁷ Conway (1897) 60.

⁷²⁸ Nissen (1877) 158. Also Della Corte (1924) 47-60.

⁷²⁹ De Vos (1982) 72.

⁷³⁰ See section 3. 5.

appears on the altar found in temple of Dionysus at Sant'Abbondio. Thus, the altar and the sundial inscriptions date from the same period, the second half of the third century BC.⁷³¹

m(a)r(a(hi)s). atiniís. mr[.] kvaísstur. eítuvad ²múltasíkad[.] kúmbennieís.

tangi(nud) ³aamanaffed

Maraeus Atinius son of Maraeus, *quaestor*, commissioned (this sundial) with money raised from fines, by the decree of the council.

We have already seen inscriptions dedicated by magistrates of Nola, the *meddices degetasii*, with money raised from fines in section 5. 4. 1. It has also been noted that at Rome the *aediles* seemed to have performed a similar function.

The second inscription is ST Po 14, Ve 18, Co 52, Bu 6, Pi 12F, SE 45 (1977) 327. (7. 7, see map VI). It is part of the mosaic pavement of the cella of the temple of Apollo in the Forum of the town, which was laid in the middle of second century BC.⁷³²

ú. kamp[aniis. - kv]aísstur. kúmbennieís [t]a[nginu]d appellunieís. eítuv[ad.

pavmentú. úps]annú. aaman[aff]ed

Ovius Camp[anius son of ?], *quaestor*, by the decree of the council with the money of Apollo commissioned the building of (the pavement).

The *quaestor* is attested here because he handles public money, perhaps from fines, dedicated to Apollo.⁷³³

⁷³¹ Carratelli (1979) 473.

⁷³² Lo Cascio (1986) 12.

⁷³³ Parallels in Latin: CIL I² 680, CIL I¹ 569.

The last two *quaestor* inscriptions are rather fragmentary: ST Po 10, Ve 19, Co 49, Pi 12D, SE 45 (1977) 327. ST Po 10. Found in the Street of Mercurius. It is usually dated to the second century BC.

[--11--k]vaísstur ²[kúmbennieís. t]anginud ³[--6-- úpsann]ú. deded ⁴[eítuvad.---
]rekhad ⁵[ísisdu.prúf]atted

[--11--] quaestor, by the decree [of the council] commissioned the construction of
[this ?] ... [He himself] approved (this).

The last *quaestor*-inscription is ST Po 9 Ve 17, Co 50, Pi 12 E, SE 45 (1977) 327 (see map VI). Found in two pieces re-used in the House of the Faun, rebuilt in the middle of the second century BC.⁷³⁴

[--.s]puriís. ma ²[k]vaísstur ³[kú]mparakineís ⁴[ta]ngin(ud). aamanaffed

[...] Spurius son of Maraeus, *quaestor*, (by) the decree of the council,
commissioned (this).

Both inscriptions attest quaestors dedicating public works with the sanction of a council.

The title of *quaestor* was adapted from Rome, but functions seem more like Roman *aediles*, which might even suggest that the office of *aedile* and that of the *quaestor* was the same in Pompeii. With the approval of a local council they carried out works on public buildings with money collected, presumably by them, from fines and other sources (such as a will). Probably they formed a pair, but they often acted independently.

⁷³⁴ Ling (2005) 46.

6.3.5. Other institutions

It is also important to look at the functions of the councils of Pompeii, the *kúmbennieis* (gen. sing.) and *[kú]mparakineis* (gen. sing.).⁷³⁵ The first council is attested three times in inscriptions, the second only once, although it is important to note that the beginning of the word has been emended and it is not entirely certain that it begins with *kú-*.⁷³⁶ The function of these councils in inscriptions is to authorise the spending of public money on building projects in Pompeii: the *kúmbennieis* commissioned the construction of a house for the *vereiia*, the making of a sundial for the *Thermae Stabianae* and the pavement of the temple of Apollo.⁷³⁷ Single *quaestors*, where we have relatively complete inscriptions, usually appear with the mention of one or the other council, with one exception (ST Po 8).

Devoto argued that *kúmbennieis* (gen. sing.) was a kind of popular assembly, where ‘one goes’ and would thus be rendered in Latin as *conventus*.⁷³⁸ Sartori pointed out etymological similarities with the *comono* of the Bantia Tablets and the *kumne* of the Iguvine Tablets.⁷³⁹ Devoto further argues that *kúmparakineis* was a board to which people were ‘asked’ to go, since it is etymologically related to the same root from which Latin *posco* and *precor* derive and, according to Devoto, it probably meant the senate. Salmon strongly opposed this idea, suggesting that both words, *kúmbennieis* and

⁷³⁵ I am concerned only with the relationship of the councils to the magistrates of Pompeii here, rather than the etymology or the duties of the boards.

⁷³⁶ I do not count those attempts to reconstruct the texts, where a part of the stone is missing and the scholars tried to guess the number of the letters. For example in ST Po 10 Rix inserts *kúmbennieis*, whereas Vetter prefers *kúmparakineis*; for the extremely fragmentary ST Po 13 see Rix's reconstruction.

⁷³⁷ In ST Po 9 we are not told what the council ordered the *quaestor* to commission. We do not have exact archaeological records where the inscription was found exactly, which might have given us some information about the officer commissioned.

⁷³⁸ Devoto (1931) 222.

⁷³⁹ Sartori (1953) 71; ST Lu 1; ST Um 1 lb. 41.

kúmparakineís, referred to the same council.⁷⁴⁰ His opinion has been rejected by most scholars. The presence of two councils, a popular assembly and a senate, is a common feature of the constitutions of Italiote Greek cities. It is also plausible that this arrangement featured in most Oscan-speaking communities of Campania. In Pompeii, we have references to two distinct councils. Although at Rome the senate was in control of finances, it is not certain that at Pompeii the same division of functions existed. I agree with Campanile that we cannot know which term in Pompeii referred to the senate and which to a general assembly.⁷⁴¹

We also have evidence for the existence of a *vereia* at Pompeii.⁷⁴² For a list of *vereia* known in Campania and other parts of southern Italy and their possible function see section 4. 5. It is probable that this originally military and private form of organization had become a civic cultural and educational institution at Pompeii by the second century BC.

One other feature of communal organization in Samnite Pompeii is the poorly-understood *eítuns*. The word occurs in five Oscan *dipinti* and is probably to be restored in a sixth. Since the mid-nineteenth century the meaning and the purpose of these inscriptions have been the subject of numerous debates. It is now the generally accepted view that these *dipinti* were painted during the Social War and recorded arrangements for the defence of the town in case of attack. It is difficult to translate these inscriptions because the meanings of three words, fundamental to the understanding of the texts, are debated: *amvianud* (abl. sing), *eítuns* and *faam(m)a(n)t*. To start with, I leave the problematic words untranslated.

⁷⁴⁰ Sartori (1953) 71; Salmon (1967). 92-3.

⁷⁴¹ Campanile (1979) 25.

⁷⁴² The institution appears in the inscription ST Po 3. It was studied under the section 6. 3. 4 because of the appearance of that magistrate in the text.

1. ST Po 34, Ve 23, Co 60, Bu 14, Pi 13A, Fiorelli (1875)⁷⁴³, Zvetaieff (1878) 80. (6. 2. 4, see map VI). Painted on the pillar of the Casa di Sallustio, close to the corner of vico di Narcisso leading from the via Consolare on the north-west wall of the town.

eksuk. amvíanud. eítuns ²anter. tiurrí. XII. íní. ver(u) ³sarínu. puf. faamat
⁴m(a)r(a(hi)s). aadíriis. v(iíbieís)

From this *amvianud eítuns* (proceed) between Tower XII and the Sarno Gate where Maraeus Atronus son of Vibius *faamat*.

2. ST Po 35, Ve 24, Co 61, Bu 15, Pi 13A, Fiorelli (1875)⁷⁴⁴, Zvetaieff (1878) 81, SE 45 (1977) 331. (6. 6. 3, see map VI). On a tufa pillar of the Casa di Pansa, at the corner of Vico della Fullonica, which leads from the Strada delle Terme to the north-western wall.

eksuk. amviannud. eít(uns) ²anter. tiurrí. XII. íní. ³ver(u) sarínu. puf ⁴faamat.
m(a)r(a(hi)s). aadíriis. v(iíbieís)

From this *amvianud eítuns* (proceed) between Tower XII and the Sarinu Gate where Maraeus Atronus son of Vibius *faamat*.

3. ST Po 36, Ve 25, Co 63, Bu 17, Pi 13C, Fiorelli (1875)⁷⁴⁵, Zvetaieff (1878) 82. (7. 7. 19, see map VI). On the corner of the Casa del Fauno, at the corner of the Vico delle Terme and the Vico dei Soprastanti.

eksuk. amv[í]anud. ²eítuns. ante[r. tr]íib ³ma. kastrikiíeís. íní. ⁴mr. spuriíeís
l(úvkieís). ⁵puf. faamat ⁶v. sehsímbriís. l(úvkieís)

⁷⁴³ Pappalardo (2001) 49.

⁷⁴⁴ Pappalardo (2001) 56.

⁷⁴⁵ Pappalardo (2001) 160.

From this *amvianud eítuns* (proceed) between the house(?) of Ma(mercus) Castricius and Maraeus Spurius son of Lucius where Vibius Sexembrius (?) son of Lucius *faamat*.

4. ST Po 37, Ve 26, Co 62, Bu 16, Pi 13B, Zvetaieff (1878) 83, Sogliano NSc (1897) 465. (6. 12. 1, see map VI). On the south-western corner pillar of the Casa del Fauno.

ek[s]uk. amvíanud[.]eítu[ns] ²[anter. tiurr]í. X. íní XI. puf ³[faama]t. t(rebis).
fisani[.] ú

From this *amvianud eítuns* (proceed) between Tower X and XI where Trebius Fisanus son of Ovius (?) *faamat*.

5. ST 38, Ve 27. Sogliano, NSc (1897) 465. Bu 18, Pi 13D, SE 45 (1977) 331. (8. 6. 19, see map VI). In the Via dell'Abbondanza.

eksuk. amvíannud ²eítuns. amp(er)t. tríbud ³túv(tíkad). amp(er)t. menere(vas) ⁴[-
?- ⁵-?-]

From this *amvianud eítuns* (proceed) between the public house and the [temple ?] of Minerva.

6. ST 39, Ve 28, Pi 13E, della Corte Nsc (1916) 155-8. Ribezzo (1922) 328-, Buck (1922) 111-8, della Corte RIGI 6 (1923) 828. Vetter (1927) 2, SE 45 (1977) 331-5, Sakai (1992) 1-13. (3. 4. 2, see map VI). On the façade of the 'House of Moralists' on the Via dell'Abbondanza.

eksuk. amví[an(u)d --- *eítuns* -(-)] ²set puz. haf[íantír. tr.t]úv ³íní. víu. mef(iru)
[. ant. tiurr]is ⁴nertrak. ve[ru. urublan]u ⁵píís. sent. eí[seík. nert]rak ⁶veru.

urubla[nu. ant. tiu]rrí. ⁷mefira. faa{m}mant. ⁸l(úvkis). púpíd(iis). l(úvkieís).
m(a)r(a(hi)s). puríl(liis). mr

From this *amvi[anud eítuns]* are so that [the public house ?] and the Mi[dway
(?) and the tower]s be defended, which are to the left of the Ga[te Urublan]u.
[From that place to the le]ft of the Urbulanu gate to the Mefira tower
faa<m>mant Lucius Popidius son of Lucius (and) Maraeus Purellius son of
Maraeus.

All these *eítuns dipinti* follow the same structure.⁷⁴⁶ They begin with the expression *eksuk amvianud*, followed by the word *eítuns* and a location usually defined by *turri* (tower) or *veru* (gate), then the only verb *faam(m)at* (or *–ant*), and at the end a personal name or names. The inscriptions were crudely painted in red lettering directly onto walls, whether brick or stone. Some were later covered with stucco when the buildings were redecorated, which helped to preserve them. The palaeographic similarities of the *dipinti* suggest that they were painted by the same hand. They were painted in prominent locations and set high above the ground (higher than the electoral inscriptions).

Mommsen and Conway argued that the *dipinti* were advertisements of some kind, while Campanile put forward the idea that they were electoral notices datable to the first century AD.⁷⁴⁷ Conway believed that the *eítuns dipinti* date from the first century AD because their preservation is so good. These views were superseded by the arguments for interpreting the *dipinti* in the context of defending the town during the Social War.

⁷⁴⁶ Prosdocimi (1978) 875.

⁷⁴⁷ For Mommsen and Conway see Conway (1897) 70; Campanile (1996) 375.

Pompeii appears in Appian's list of Italic peoples who revolted from Rome during the Social War.⁷⁴⁸ The troops of Sulla began to lay siege to the town in April 89 BC, which probably surrendered in the autumn of the same year.⁷⁴⁹ Sulla punished the community for revolting by establishing a Roman colony, the *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum*, under the leadership of his nephew, P. Cornelius Sulla. These historical events have influenced the dating of the inscriptions. It is certain that the establishment of the colony resulted in the introduction of Latin as the official language in Pompeii. The year 80 BC is therefore the *terminus ante quem*. It has been suggested that inscriptions were painted on the eve of the siege of 89 BC, because this is the only significant military event of the period we know about. However, the period from the Social War down to the establishment of the Roman colony was very insecure in the whole of Italy, as Mouritsen notes.⁷⁵⁰ The inscriptions therefore could have been painted at any time between 90 and 80 BC. The fact that they were painted indicates that they were intended to last only for a short period of time, so we might expect them to relate to the last military threat faced by Oscan-speaking Pompeii.

I turn now to the problem of translation of the expressions *amvianud* (abl. sing), *eituns* and *faam(m)a(n)t*. Most scholars take *eituns* in a military context. Nissen interpreted it as *itus* or *iter*, 'way', and argued that the *dipinti* were set up for allied soldiers to help them to find their way to their posts, perhaps among barricades.⁷⁵¹ This view was rejected both by Ribezzo and Buck.⁷⁵² Buck believed that *eituns* should be rendered in Latin as *eunto*, an imperative, meaning 'they must proceed'.⁷⁵³ Later Buck modified his view and suggested that *eituns* relates to a verbal noun, **eit* or **ei-to*,

⁷⁴⁸ App. B.Civ. 1. 39 and 50.

⁷⁴⁹ Oros. 5. 18. 22-3, Vell. Pat. 2. 16. 2.

⁷⁵⁰ Mouritsen (1988) 85.

⁷⁵¹ Nissen (1877) 498-9.

⁷⁵² Ribezzo (1917) 55-63; Buck (1922) 111-8.

meaning ‘goings’. He supposed that it became a technical term for ‘mobilization’, and was followed by an indication of the tower or the gate to tell the citizens where they had to mobilize.⁷⁵⁴ Vetter instead suggested that *eituns* refers to the soldiers themselves and translated *eituns* as *evocati*, ‘called up’.⁷⁵⁵ He argued that the *dipinti* assign certain parts of the city walls to citizens liable for military service in every quarter of the town in the case of emergency.⁷⁵⁶ Pisani followed Vetter’s view, although he translated *eituns* as *exploratores*, soldiers chosen to patrol part of the city wall.⁷⁵⁷ Prosdocimi countered that the meaning ‘soldiers’ is too far removed from the supposed root **eito-* ‘to go’.⁷⁵⁸ He prefers to derive *eituns* from **eid*, a stem for words to do with ‘oath’ and interprets *eituns* as soldiers who have taken an oath on enrolment, *iurati* in Latin.

Nissen’s idea that the *eituns dipinti* helped allied soldiers to reach their stations is not at all plausible. First, they do not provide clear directions for outsiders: for example, ST 36 and 37, painted on corner pillars, do not indicate which way the soldier had to go. Conversely, ST 34 was unnecessary because the city wall was visible from the location of the inscription anyway. Therefore, it is more likely that the inscriptions were painted for the citizens of Pompeii. Whichever of the etymological interpretations of Buck, Vetter, Pisani or Prosdocimi is correct, they all agree that the word refers to those Pompeian citizens liable for military service, so the simplest solution is to take *eituns* to mean ‘a group of soldiers’.

The word *amvianud* (abl. sing.) has also caused debate. It has been suggested that it is a loanword from the Greek *ἀμφοδον*, which has a range of meanings, including

⁷⁵³ Buck (1904) 242.

⁷⁵⁴ Buck (1922) 113 and 118

⁷⁵⁵ Vetter (1953) 54-7.

⁷⁵⁶ Vetter (1927) 5. Vetter spotted that in ST Po 39 the word *eituns* was followed by *set* (*sunt*), which suggests that it must be a noun.

⁷⁵⁷ Pisani (1953) 13 A, B, C, D, E.

street or quarter.⁷⁵⁹ In his edition of 1904, Buck followed Nissen's view about the purpose of the *eituns* inscriptions and translated the word *amvianud* as *circuitu*, '(in this) way around or detour'. Later Buck accepted that the Greek word ἄμφοδον is usually rendered in Latin as *vicus*, as Nissen had translated it, and suggested that *amvianud* denoted an administrative unit, a quarter or ward, that provided soldiers for the defence of the city.⁷⁶⁰ The *eituns* inscriptions would then be similar to a Greek inscription from Smyrna, which instructs to the male inhabitants of each city quarter where they had to assemble, and also gives the name of the officer in charge of the contingent.⁷⁶¹ It seems clear that the word *amvianud* should be understood as 'quarter' of the city or ward.

The last controversial word is the verb, *faamat* or *fam(m)ant*, which, with the exception of the sixth fragmentary inscription, is preceded by the adverb *puf*, or *ubi* in Latin. Nissen translated it as *ubi tendit*, 'where leads, goes', that is the *iter*, the road that took the allied soldiers to their posts. Subsequently, the word was thought to be an action taken by the person or persons named at the end of the inscriptions. This makes sense, since in all inscriptions where one person appears the verb is in the singular, while in ST 39, where two persons are cited, it is in the plural. Ideas differ as to how to translate the verb. Buck's translation, *ubi habita(n)t*, suggests that the person appearing in the text, perhaps the leader of the contingent of the *vicus*, lived there, but this is unlikely because the inhabitants of the quarter probably knew that the person lived there, and it is difficult to believe that the leaders lived evenly distributed across the town, close to the towers. Vetter translated *puf faam(m)a(n)t* as *(nomina) cita(n)t*, and reckoned that it is related to

⁷⁵⁸ Prosdocimi (1978) 876-7.

⁷⁵⁹ Buck (1922) 111-8.

⁷⁶⁰ Nissen (1877) 497-9 and 542. Buck (1922).

⁷⁶¹ Nissen (1877) 502.

the Latin noun *fama*, with the meaning of to take a 'roll call'. It is possible that a respectable man was appointed in every ward to muster and lead its contingent. However, the word *famatted* appears in an inscription from the territory of the Hirpini, where it has been translated as '*iussit*', and so Pisani suggested that the word *puf faam(m)a(n)t* means '*ubi imperat*', 'where X is in command'.⁷⁶² This interpretation makes good practical sense, has a parallel in the Smyrna inscription and is, in my view, the most probable.

In addition to the Smyrna inscription there is literary evidence for similar arrangements. Nissen drew attention to the treatise of Aineias Tacticus, a Greek military writer of the middle of the fourth century BC.⁷⁶³ Aineias suggests that a citizen community should assign men of each tribe of the city capable of military service the task of proceeding to a section of the wall and mounting guard over it, and to appoint a competent man in each street to be street-commander.⁷⁶⁴ These street commanders should muster their men and lead them to the assembly points, the nearest agora or theatre. Although there are differences in detail from what the *eituns dipinti* suggest happened in Pompeii, the practice is essentially the same.

The *nomina gentilicia* of the officers in command suggest that they were members of illustrious Pompeian families. Maraeus Atronus son of Vibius, mentioned in two *eituns dipinti*, ST Po 34 and ST Po 35, must be a relative of Vibius Atronus son of Vibius, who left a substantial sum of money in his will for the Pompeian *vereia*.⁷⁶⁵ ST Po 39 names Lucius Popidius son of Lucius, member of the famous *gens Popidia*,

⁷⁶² ST Hi 1, and Sgobbo in *Notizie degli Scavi* ser. 6 (1930) 409-10.

⁷⁶³ Nissen (1877) on the towers of Pompeii p.490-510.

⁷⁶⁴ Ain. Tac. 3.4.

⁷⁶⁵ See section 6. 3. 4.

attested in both Oscan and Latin inscriptions. They certainly formed an important part of the public life of the town.

6. 3. 6. The time of transition

The last group of evidence in Oscan for the political structures of Pompeii comprises eleven painted inscriptions in Oscan which appear to be electoral notices.⁷⁶⁶

1. ST Po 40, Ve 29, Co. 67, Zvetaieff (1878) 86, tab. XVI. 4, SE 45 (1977) 336. On a tufa pillar in the Strada della Fontana and Abbondanza near the Forum.

mr. perk {e}en[-?] ²III. nerú. d—h[³]labiku nielš. ⁴III seís. Aphinis ⁵altinúm

M(a)r(aeus) Percennius *quattuorvir* ... IV (?) of the Afini (?)

2. ST Po 41, Ve 30, Co 64, Zvetaieff (1878) 84, XVI. 2, SE 45 (1977) 336. On the fourth pillar from the corner in the Strada dei Teatri.

ma. herenni / III. n. d. e. n. d. eiú

Mamercus Herennius III vir . . .

3. ST Po 42, Ve 30a, Co 68, Zvetaieff (1878) 88 tab. XVI. 6.

p. kiípiís

P (acius?) Cippius

4. ST Po 43, Ve 30b, Co 71, Zvetaieff (1878) 93. XVII. 3. On a tufa pillar of 7. 4. 5.

p. afillis

P(acius?) Afillius

5. ST Po 44, Ve 30c, Co 76, Zvetaieff (1878) 101.

l. veat[-?_] pisu

Lucius Viat . . . Piso

6. ST Po 45, Ve 30d, Co 65, Zvetaieff (1878) 89, tab XVI. 7. On the fifth pillar from the corner on the Strada dei Teatri.

l. úpil[iú]m / niel ---[-?_]

Lucius Opellius / . . .

7. ST Po 46, Ve 30e, Co 69, Zvetaieff (1878) 90, tab. XVI, 8. On a tufa pillar or a house in 7. 4.

l. úv[. I]III n(erú) / i d n e-[-]erk

Lucius Ovius quattuorvir . . .

8. ST Po 47, Ve 30f(a), Co 72 bis, Zvetaieff (1878) 94, tab. XVII, 4, SE 45 (1977) 336. On a tufa pillar of 7. 9. 58-59.

arút. ni

Arruntius (?). Ni (?)

⁷⁶⁶ ST 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50.

9. ST Po 48, Ve 30(b), SE 45 (1977) 336,

d. púgin

Decius (?) Pugin(?)

10. ST Po 49, Ve 30g, Co 66, Zvetaieff (1878) 85, tab. XVI. 3. On the corner pillar on the façade in the Strada della Fontana

píkúfn-[-?

11. ST Po 50, Ve 30h, Zvetaieff (1878) 99, Conway (1897) 75, SE 45 (1977) 336. In the Strada Fontana, from the Strada dell'Abbondanza, nr. 15

IIII. n(erú)

Quattuorvir

The dating and interpretation of these electoral inscriptions have been a matter of debate. Four texts contain references to the *IIIIner*, the Oscan equivalent of the Roman *quattuorvir*.⁷⁶⁷ This office does not appear in stone inscriptions from the Samnite period of Pompeii, but is characteristic of the earlier Roman municipal and colonial constitutions. This has led many to believe that they were set up after the Roman conquest of the town in 89 BC. It has been pointed out that because they were written in Oscan, they could not have been painted after the establishment of the Roman colony in 80 BC, when Oscan ceased to be the official language of the town. However, one could argue that Oscan continued to be spoken in Pompeii well into the first century BC, and

⁷⁶⁷ ST Po 40 (twice), 41, 46 and 50.

since the *programmata* were not notices put up by officials, it is just possible that the inscriptions date from the time of the early colony.

The period between the Roman occupation and the establishment of the colony is the most controversial and the most extensively discussed in the history of the town. Historical research has focused on questions of the constitution and the administrative institutions. It has been argued that the appearance of the *quattuorvirate* both in Oscan electoral inscriptions and Latin inscriptions on stone suggests that after the occupation of the town, Pompeii became a *municipium*. Rudolph thought that Pompeii was granted Roman citizenship by Cinna in 87 BC or at least at some point between 89 and 80 BC.⁷⁶⁸ Mouritsen has pointed out that none of the Latin electoral inscriptions mention the *quattuorvirate*, which he explains by the fact that it was not by then an office in itself but a collective term for the *duoviri* and *aediles*.⁷⁶⁹ The names of several candidates in the *programmata antiquissima* appear to be Oscan, which would raise the question of why some appealed to the voters in Latin and others in Oscan. Mouritsen argued that they were probably not part of the same electoral campaign. He concluded that the candidates in the Oscan electoral inscriptions were running for the quattuorviral magistracy, established after the Social War and that they were painted in the transitional period, that is 89-80 BC, while the Latin *programmata antiquissima* formed part of electoral campaigns held in the early colony, from 80 BC onwards, after Pompeii received a regular colonial constitution with *duoviri* and two *aediles*, who formed the college of *quattuorviri*.⁷⁷⁰

A study of the administrative institutions of Oscan Pompeii must also include several pieces of evidence in Latin. The body of Latin electoral inscriptions from

⁷⁶⁸ Rudolph (1935) 151 – 52

⁷⁶⁹ Mouritsen (1988) 72 and 85.

Pompeii divides into two groups: the *programmata antiquissima*, consisting of around 150 painted inscriptions, and the *recentiora*, amounting to around 2500 inscriptions. It has been argued that the oldest electoral inscriptions date from the years 80-30 BC and have survived due to exceptional circumstances. The *programmata recentiora* are dated to the years AD 50-79.

Pompeii preserves a number of honorific inscriptions in stone (*tituli*) and several *programmata antiquissima* that can tell us about the transition from the Samnite administration to that of Rome. The first step in the study of the inscriptions is the establishment of their dates. Mouritsen has meticulously studied the means and methods that can be used to date Pompeian inscriptions.⁷⁷¹ His system of dating seems the most reliable and will be followed here. According to his reconstruction, the following honorific inscriptions can be dated to the early phase of the Roman occupation: *CIL* I 1634, 1636, and *CIL* X 794, 800, 819, 829, 844, 852, 937, 938, 956, 997, and also perhaps 1075. The names of the magistrates recorded in *CIL* X 800, 819, 829, 844, 852, and 937 and 938 also appear in the *programmata*, obviously competing for the office. Therefore some of the *programmata* and the inscriptions must be almost contemporary.

One of the most debated honorific inscriptions of the early period of the Roman town is *CIL* X 794.⁷⁷² It comes from the forum.

V. Popidius / Ep(idi) f. q / porticus / faciendas coeravi

Vibius Popidius son of Epidius q saw to the building of the portico.

The letter *q* following the name of the magistrate has generated much discussion regarding the date of the inscription. It has been suggested that it stood for *quattuorvir*,

⁷⁷⁰ Mouritsen (1988) 86.

⁷⁷¹ Mouritsen (1988) 70-89.

quinquennalis or *quaestor*. Mommsen dated it to the Samnite administration, Onorato to the transitional period, and Degrassi to the early colony, but none of these interpretations is convincing.⁷⁷³ A viable dating needs to accommodate several facts, as noted by Mouritsen: the inscription is in Latin, contains the letter *q*, the magistrate was a member of an illustrious Pompeian *gens*, archaeological evidence suggests that the portico is later than 100 BC and the inscription is similar to other early Latin inscriptions from Pompeii.⁷⁷⁴ Mouritsen's argument that the letter *q* stands for the office of *quaestor* is the most likely.⁷⁷⁵ Nevertheless, this inscription does not suggest that the quaestorship continued to exist in Roman Pompeii: Mouritsen argued that the portico was begun before the Roman conquest but finished afterwards, which explains why the inscription is in Latin. This text therefore attests that V. Popidius son of Epidius held the quaestorship at the time of the dedication of the building. This probably happened between 100 and 80 BC, which suggests that the office of the *quaestor* could have continued into the transitional period of the town.

A handful of electoral inscriptions in Latin also contain the letter *q*.⁷⁷⁶ Three inscriptions, all belonging to the *programmata antiquissima*, mention Q. Caecilius. The fourth, which belong to the more recent inscriptions from Pompeii, mentions C. Laecanius Successus. Mommsen's argument that the letter *q* stands for the quaestorship and that the text should be dated to the transitional period has been discarded. Castrén and Lo Cascio suggested that it stood for *quattuorvir*, but this view does not convince in the light of the previously mentioned argument that the term *quattuorvir* was a collective

⁷⁷² = I² 1627 = ILS 5538 = ILLRP 640

⁷⁷³ CIL X p. 96; Onorato (1951) 116-40; Degrassi (1967) 145-8.

⁷⁷⁴ Mouritsen (1988) 72-3.

⁷⁷⁵ Mouritsen (1988) 72-4.

⁷⁷⁶ CIL IV 29, 30, 36 and 7014

term for the *aediles* and *duoviri*.⁷⁷⁷ Mouritsen argued that the letter should be interpreted as *quinquennalis*, an office that was held every five years. This would also explain why it occurs so rarely in Latin inscriptions.

To return to the argument about the constitutional standing of Pompeii in the transitional period of the town, Castrén described the status of Pompeii between 89 and 80 BC as *interregnum*.⁷⁷⁸ His theory was based on a number of *programmata antiquissima* inscriptions in which the abbreviation *inter* appears, but the word itself is never complete and so is open to interpretation. Several scholars have rejected Castrén's view: Mouritsen pointed out that the word *inter* appears only in relation to C. Popidius, and argued that it was a reference to the extraordinary position of *interrex*, which would probably have been filled through appointment by the local *ordo* rather than by popular election.⁷⁷⁹

Onorato suggested that the *municipium* formed by the native inhabitants of the town, continued to co-exist with the colony for some time, creating 'a double community' at Pompeii, each with its own administrative institutions. Onorato's argument was partly based on the distinction between the *Pompeiani* and the *coloni*, which appears in a passage in Cicero.⁷⁸⁰ In this passage, Cicero mentions that his client, P. Sulla, was accused of exploiting a quarrel between the *Pompeiani* and the *coloni* in order to gain power over the community to make them join Catiline's plot. Onorato argued that *Pompeiani* refers to the old inhabitants of the town who formed the *municipium* while *coloni* refers to the colonists of Sulla. Several historians have rejected Onorato's view by pointing out that the *dissensio* among the *coloni* and the *Pompeiani*

⁷⁷⁷ Castrén (1951) 51.

⁷⁷⁸ Castrén (1975) 51-2, 60, 122, 174.

⁷⁷⁹ Mouritsen (1988) 74-5.

⁷⁸⁰ Cic. Pro Sulla 21. 60-2.

makes sense only if they were voting together in the same community, thus showing that there was no question of two separate communities with separate citizenships.⁷⁸¹ Building on the conclusions of Mouritsen and Jongman, Lo Cascio argued that the Ciceronian passage does not suggest that the 'old Pompeians' were deprived of the right to vote. On the contrary, they enjoyed the same political rights as the new inhabitants of the town, the colonists, but the 'old Pompeians', superior in number, were penalised by being divided into a smaller number of electoral districts in comparison to those of the colonists.⁷⁸² Some of the voting districts of the inner parts of the town were named after the city gates, for the names of some of the candidates in the electoral inscriptions were qualified by the adjectives *Urbulaneses*, *Salinienses*, *Campanienses* and *Forenses*, which must refer to their voting tribes.⁷⁸³ Zevi has examined the decorative elements of Pompeii and concludes that the inner parts of the town do not show signs of renovation.⁷⁸⁴ This suggests that the same inhabitants continued to live there even after the establishment of the colony. In the suburban area, especially along the *via dei Sepolcri*, houses decorated according to the second Pompeian style have been excavated. It is likely that these areas, along with considerable parts of the *ager Pompeianus*, were allotted to the colonists.

Names of several Oscan candidates appear in the *programmata antiquissima*: L. Gavius, M. Herennius, Q. Herennius, C. Occius, L. Olius, L. Paccius, C. Popidius, C. Uulius, T. Vibius, and they are definitely of Oscan origin.⁷⁸⁵ It is possible that the same man, Mamercus Herennius, appears both in an Oscan electoral inscription ST Po 41 and in CIL IV 48. This confirms the conclusion of Lo Cascio and Zevi that there was one

⁷⁸¹ Degrassi (1962) 105; Gabba (1973) 605,

⁷⁸² Lo Cascio (1996) 111-23.

⁷⁸³ Lo Cascio (1996) 120.

⁷⁸⁴ Zevi (1996) 125-38.

⁷⁸⁵ For list of candidates of the *programmata antiquissima* see Mouritsen (1988) 83-4.

citizen body after the establishment of the colony at Pompeii, and that the ‘old Pompeians’ did indeed take part in the political life of the colony and that they were not separated into a *municipium* with its own administration.

6. 3. 7. Elite families

This section looks at the composition of the political elite in Pompeii to examine its breadth or narrowness. Names in administrative inscriptions of Pompeii usually consist of three parts, *praenomen*, *nomen gentilicium* and filiation.⁷⁸⁶ Some *gentes* appear in several Pompeian inscriptions. Out of the few inscriptions that mention the *meddix tuticus*, Vibius Popidius son of Vibius features in two of them and also in a *dipinto* on an amphora fragment, because the middle of the second century BC was a particularly prosperous period of the town, with much rebuilding and it had become fashionable to set up inscriptions. The *gens* Pupidia is represented on a stone inscription from the House of Pupidius Priscus and the *edituns* inscriptions and continued to play an important role in the public life of the town after the Social War as numerous Latin inscriptions attest.⁷⁸⁷ The *gens Atrana* also occurs both in the administrative inscriptions and the *edituns* inscriptions. Vibius Atranus son of Vibius is recorded because he left money to the Pompeian *vereiia* in his will, so he must have been from one of the wealthy families

⁷⁸⁶ Two inscriptions, ST Po 2 and ST Po 14, are fragmentary and the second half of the names is missing probably with filiation, the tile stamps usually, however, with the few exceptions mentioned previously, give only the *praenomina* and *nomina gentilicia*

⁷⁸⁷ ST Po 12 and 39.

of the town. Maraesus Atranius son of Vibius appears in two *aituns* inscriptions, ST 34 and 35. Maraesus Atinius son of Maraesus appears twice, as *aedilis* and *quaestor*.⁷⁸⁸

The tile stamps, ST tPo 1-43, provide us with a large and completely different group of names from those of the dedicatory and *aituns* inscriptions. It has been suggested that these names are those of *meddices tutici* of Pompeii.

Table 1: *Gentes* of the tile-stamps in Pompeii:

Oscan names	Latin equivalent
v. vaaviis (ST tPo 1)	Vavius (?)
m. aallasis (ST tPo 2)	
ú: úviis (ST tPo 3)	Ovius
ga sillii (ST tPo 4)	Sillius
gn. hegi[? (ST tPo 5)	Hegius (?)
ni. lare (ST tPo 6)	Lars (?)
ni. púpie (ST tPo 7)	Pupidius (?)
ni. pupie (ST tPo 8)	Pupidius (?)
ni. púpie m (ST tPo 9)	Pupidius (?)
ni. veela (ST tPo 10)	
^a ni. veela ^b ú (ST tPo 11)	
^a m. g. lass, ^b m. g. lass (ST tPo 12)	
l. titi. l (ST tPo 13)	Tittius
ú. núv. --- (ST tPo 14)	Nolanus (?)

⁷⁸⁸ This fact suggests that the two inscriptions, the ST Po 4 and 16, were engraved with not much difference of time one between the other.

p. aiía [-] (ST tPo 15)	
v. blan (ST tPo 16)	
v. bla (ST tPo 17)	
step. kai (ST tPo 18)	
dek. tre. (ST tPo 19)	Trebius (?)
pú. tre. (ST tPo 20)	Trebius (?)
st. kal (ST tPo 21)	
v. íst (ST tPo 22)	
ni rar. (ST tPo 23)	
l. lík. (ST tPo 24)	
l. lí (ST tPo 25)	
?] pask. pak (ST tPo 26)	
mr. n[(ST tPo 27)	
pr. t (ST tPo 28)	
k pi (ST tPo 29)	
ú. ev (ST tPo 30)	
ú. úh. (ST tPo 31)	Uhtavius = Octavius (?)
ev. he. kai (ST tPo 32)	Heius (?)
ev he. kai (ST tPo 33)	Heius (?)
ev he kai (ST tPo 34)	Heius (?)
mr. k. l. (ST tPo 35)	
d. kú. pu. d (ST tPo 36)	
l. m-. n. b (ST tPo 37)	
pk. pp (ST tPo 41)	

Numerous *nomina gentilicia* of magistrates are exclusive to Pompeii. These are: Atinius, Audius, Epidius, Matius, Mezius, Seppius, Sittius, Spurius, Vicinius and most of the *gentes* shown in the tile stamps. Some, however, appear also in other Oscan-speaking territories. A member of the *gens Satria*, Trebius Satrius son of Trebius, is attested as *meddix tuticus* of the Pentri.⁷⁸⁹ Members of the *gens Pontia* were scattered over a wide territory: we find them in Sicily, in the territory of the Paeligni, in Samnium and at Saticula in Campania.⁷⁹⁰ A curse tablet at Crimisa in Lucania attests a Pupidius.⁷⁹¹ The *gens* name of one of the quaestors, Campanus, in the inscription ST Po 14, suggest that his family migrated from Capua.

A curious phenomenon is that several names attested as *praenomina* in other Samnite areas appear in Pompeii as *nomina gentilicia*. One example is the *gens* name Seppius, attested in a Pompeiian painted inscription, ST Po 59.⁷⁹² Sepis and Sepiéís occur as *praenomina* at Capua in the *iúvilas* inscriptions.⁷⁹³ Similarly, the *gens* name Spurius of the *eítuns* inscriptions (ST Po 36), also attested in the fragmentary ST Po 9, turns up as a *praenomen* at Capua and Rome.⁷⁹⁴ We have examples in Pompeii for the use of Trebius as *praenomen* and *gentilicium*.⁷⁹⁵

The variety of families that held the office of *meddix tuticus* clearly shows that the magistracies of the town were not dominated by a small group of *gentes* and that they were probably elected.

⁷⁸⁹ See section 2. 5.

⁷⁹⁰ πομπτοιες in Messina: Me 1, 2, 3; ponties in Sulmo of the Paeligni: ST Pg 5; prompt(iis) in Samnium see section 2. 5; puntieis at Saticula: ST Cm 28.

⁷⁹¹ ST Lu 44: μαιομ ποπεδ[ιομ].

⁷⁹² ST Po 8, quaestor.

⁷⁹³ ST Cp 27: Sepis Helevis; ST Cp 28: Sepiéís Heleviieís.

⁷⁹⁴ ST Cp 29: affiliation; Cp 30: praenomen.

6. 4. Herculaneum

The only evidence for Samnite-period magistrates at Herculaneum comes from two inscriptions carved into a marble altar. The first and shorter text is situated in the centre on the top of the altar, where the sacrifice would have taken place. The longer inscription is on the side of the altar, probably facing the public. The altar was found in the so-called Hercules temple near the theatre of Herculaneum.⁷⁹⁶ The altar was dedicated to Venus Erycina, whose cult is known from the temples on Mount Eryx in western Sicily, between Drepanum and Egesta.⁷⁹⁷

ST Cm 10, Ve 107, Co 87, Bu 41, SE 59 (1993) 322.

^aherentateís súm

^bl(úvkis). slabiis. l(úvkieís). aukíl. meddíss. túvtiks. herentateí. herukinaí. prúffed

I am of Venus

Lucius Slabius Acilius son of Lucius *meddix tuticus* set (me, the altar) up for Venus Erycina⁷⁹⁸

The *nomen gentilicium* of the *meddix tuticus*, Slabius, is not attested anywhere else in the Oscan-speaking world. He also has a *cognomen*, Acilius, which suggests a late date for the inscription.⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹⁵ Praenomen: ST Po 15; gentilicium: ST tPo 19.

⁷⁹⁶ The temple was given this name by archaeologists because of the small Hercules statues found in the sacred area and therefore it is not necessarily a temple of Hercules

⁷⁹⁷ The cult was introduced to Rome in the late third century BC, see Beard, North and Price (1998) 79-80 and 83.

⁷⁹⁸ Campanile (1995) 358-62 argues the word *prúffed* is not synonymous to *prúffatted*, but it is to be translated as 'to offer', 'to donate'.

6. 5. *Meddices* of Minerva

A unique inscription has been found on the eastern side of the promontory of the peninsula of Surrentum called the Punta della Campanella. The text is inscribed on the rock beside the stairs leading up from a landing stage to the plateau. The promontory was an important cult place for Athena or Minerva and it was frequented from at least the sixth century BC. The shrine is thought to be of Greek origin, but came under Samnite supervision with the occupation of Campania some time after the middle of the fifth century BC. Russo has dated the inscription to the first half of the second century BC.⁸⁰⁰

ST Cm 2, MAL Misc. 3. 5. 189-204.

m. gaaviis m. l(úvkis). pítakíis. m. ²l(úvkis). appúllis. ma. meddíks. menereviius
³esskazsiúm. ekúk. úpsannum ⁴dedens. íusúm. prífattens

Maius Gavius son of Maius, Lucius Pitacius son of Maius, Lucius Appuleus son of Maraeus, *meddices* of Minerva, commissioned the building of this landing stage. They themselves approved it.

This is the first, and so far unique, case of the title of *meddix* qualified by the name of a deity. It is also the first attestation of a college of the three *meddices*. Russo, the first editor of the inscription, suggested that the *meddices* were leading magistrates of three towns of the supposed Nucerian League, Nuceria (Maius Gaavius), Surrentum (Lucius

⁷⁹⁹ Sironen notes the Ωκελλος / Οκκελος / Οκιλλος names turn up several times among the Lucanian students of Pythagoras⁷⁹⁹. He suggests the names in Greek take their origin from Oscan and would come from the Latin '*oculus*', eye. Sironen (1991) 133-8

⁸⁰⁰ Russo (1990) 197.

Pitacius) and Pompeii (Lucius Appuleius).⁸⁰¹ De Caro drew attention to votive statues representing Athena from the area of the sanctuary.⁸⁰² Statues made from the same mould were also found in the sanctuary of Privati near Stabiae. Similar statues turned up in the area of the Triangular Forum, one of the oldest areas of Pompeii. The name of Minerva, associated with the temple of the Triangular Forum, also appears in one *elituns* inscription.⁸⁰³ De Caro suggested that there existed a network of Athena/Minerva temples at Pompeii, Privati and Punta della Campanella, 'which coincides with a concrete political reality', in other words, that the cult of Minerva was the official cult of the supposed Nucerian league.⁸⁰⁴

The arguments of Russo and De Caro are based on the notion of the existence of the Nucerian League. Russo's interpretation of the three *meddices* as the magistrates of Nuceria, Pompeii and Surrentum raises the question of why the other two settlements, Herculaneum and Stabiae, did not have representatives. Also, Russo's onomastic arguments for linking a particular magistrate with a particular town do not seem well founded. De Caro's suggestion that the Athena/Minerva sanctuaries were the main cult of the Nucerian League ignores the numerous Hercules sanctuaries in the region (in Pompeii, outside Pompeii to the north, and, of course, Herculaneum) which show the importance of that cult in the region. Furthermore, Russo admits that most types of the votive terracottas discovered in the sanctuary of Punta della Campanella, particularly those that represent female heads wearing headdresses and standing mothers, are found widely in other Campanian locations, such as Cumae, Nola, Capua and the sanctuaries

⁸⁰¹ Russo (1990) 198-9.

⁸⁰² De Caro (1992a) 173-8. The standing statues of Athena wear a long chiton belted around the waist. The goddess holds a shield resting on the ground with her left hand, and an offering pot in her right. She wears a helmet of Phrygian type.

⁸⁰³ ST Po 38.

⁸⁰⁴ De Caro (1992a) 175, my translation.

of Mefitis and Privati of Stabiae, which date from the fourth century BC, so are not specific to the area of Nuceria and Pompeii.

The shrine was an extra-urban sanctuary and was probably maintained by the community of nearby Surrentum. I therefore accept Lejeune's argument, according to which the *meddices Minervii* were public officers of Surrentum responsible solely for the administration of the shrine.⁸⁰⁵ Poccetti added another possible interpretation: the title could also denote officers of a cult association named after a god (like the *magistri Mercuriales* on Delos, but this seems less likely).⁸⁰⁶ The office of the *meddix* of Minerva is also important because it may suggest the view that by the first half of the second century BC, the *meddix* became a general term for any magistracy or important public office. The names of the officers follow the usual pattern of Italic names, *praenomen*, *nomen gentilicium*, and filiation, but two of them have rather unusual *nomina gentilicia*. The *gens* name Pitacius certainly comes from Greek, perhaps Pyttax or Pitakios.⁸⁰⁷ Campanile proved that the *nomen gentilicium* 'Appulliis' is the Oscan equivalent of the Latin *nomen gentilicium* of 'Appuleius'. The *gens* name Gavius was very common among all the Samnite peoples. There is no reason to attribute them to a city other than Surrentum.

⁸⁰⁵ Lejeune (1990) 262.

⁸⁰⁶ Poccetti (1992) 194.

6. 6. Nuceria

6. 6. 1. Bronze coins with the legend *írnθii*

Beloch argued from the lack of issues of coinage by the towns of Pompeii, Surrentum, Herculaneum and Stabiae that the coins struck by Nuceria Alfaterna served as the coinage for a confederation. Recently found coins, however, reveal two phases of coin issues by non-Greek communities in the Bay of Naples prior to the Social War. The first issue consists of bronze coins bearing the letters *írnθii*. The common feature of the second issue is that the legend *nuvkrinum alafaternum* appears on their obverses. Beloch considered only the second issue to be Oscan. He believed that the coins with the *írnθii* legends were related to the Etruscan town of Arinthe and were used in the *ager Picentinus*.⁸⁰⁸ The aim of this and the next section is to examine whether these two phases of coinage can support the idea of some kind of political federation in the valley of Sarno between the second half of the fourth century and the Social War.

Almost a hundred coins with the legend *írnθii* are known: ST nCm 1a – b, Ve 200 A 11, Co Note XVIII. These coins, presumably issued by the same mint, are one of a pair of groups whose common feature is the head of a young man, possibly Apollo, crowned with laurel on the obverse. In the first group, a bull with a human head is depicted on the reverse. The legend *írnθii* appears on coins only with the bull. On the other type, a mussel surrounded by three dolphins appears on the reverse, with no legend.

⁸⁰⁷ Campanile (1992) 215.

⁸⁰⁸ Beloch (1879) 10.

Most of the coins with the legend are so damaged that they are only partially readable.⁸⁰⁹ The legend appears either as *irnθii* or *irnθr*. It runs from the left to the right and it is in a mixture of scripts. It has been classified as early Oscan: the letter D could be Oscan as well as the letter N; the letter *í* which begins and ends the word is ligatured into the letter D at the beginning of the legend.⁸¹⁰ The letter θ does not exist in the Oscan alphabet and is thought to be a borrowing from the Etruscan or Greek alphabet.

Many of the *irnθii* and mussel coins were found in necropoleis, tombs or sanctuaries around the Bay of Naples, although the provenance of only a third is known. Specimens have been found at Ponticelli, Caivano, Pompeii, Stabiae, Nuceria, Pontecagnano (ager Picentinus), Montecorvino Rovella (ager Picentinus) and Sorrento, but the largest number turned up in Punta della Campanella, in the area of the shrine.⁸¹¹ The coins are almost always accompanied by Neapolitan coins, which were the most commonly used in the region. Since the dating of Neapolitan issues is fairly certain, they help to date the *irnθii* coins to the period between 340 and 320 BC.⁸¹²

As regards identification of the legend and the location of the mint, there are two main views: Fiorelli, Beloch and Devoto thought that the coins were Etruscan.⁸¹³ Fiorelli suggested that the legend referred to the Irno, the river that flows into the sea south of Salerno. He also argued that a city with the same name existed in the region, which he identified with the Etruscan site of Fratte di Salerno. These arguments were rejected by Zancani Montuoro, who proved that Irno is a medieval name.⁸¹⁴ Avellino instead

⁸⁰⁹ Russo (1990) 246-7.

⁸¹⁰ It is possible that we are dealing with the earliest appearance of the letter or the date, set at 300 BC, must be lowered.

⁸¹¹ Stazio (1990) 269-70.

⁸¹² Libero Mangieri (1994) 22.

⁸¹³ Beloch (1979) 10; for Fiorelli see Stazio (1990) 270; Devoto (1967) 123.

⁸¹⁴ Zancani Montuoro (1949) 61-8.

suggested that the legend should be expanded to *sIReNTI* and identified with Surrentum.⁸¹⁵ In Stazio's view the fact that the greatest number of the coins was found in the sanctuary of Punta della Campanella supports this idea. In my opinion, however, it is quite implausible that the first letter of the name of the town was omitted. We have to conclude that the coins were struck by a yet unknown community in the Bay of Naples and nothing suggests that it was related to the region of the river Sarno. The coins may have been minted at Naples: the pair of Apollo and the human-headed bull is typical of that city and they use the Neapolitan weight standard.⁸¹⁶

Why the *irnθii* coins were minted is also disputed. Libero Mangieri argued that, because they were made of bronze and most of them were found in the pensinsula of Sorrento, dominated by the Athena sanctuary of Punta della Campanella, they were intended for the use of the sanctuary or in a funerary context, as *obols*.⁸¹⁷ Several Campanian communities produced coins for brief periods during the fourth century BC.⁸¹⁸ As in other cases, the coins were presumably minted for the payment of soldiers by one of the Samnite communities in Campania, perhaps in the wars between Rome and the Samnites. The coins show that Nuceria was not the only Samnite community in the Sarno area to mint coins.

⁸¹⁵ For Avellino's views see Stazio (1990) 268.

⁸¹⁶ Stazio (1990) 267-8.

⁸¹⁷ Libero Mangieri (1994) 22. Stazio (1990) 272 agrees with this idea.

⁸¹⁸ See charter 5. 3.

6. 6. 2. Silver and bronze coins from Nuceria Alfaterna

Among the coins found in the southern part of the bay of Naples, nine types form a special group. They bear the legend *nuvkrinum alafaternum* with some variations. As previously mentioned, Beloch interpreted these coins as federal coins, which served as common money for all the towns of his supposed Nucerian League.

1. ν nuvkrinum alafaternum τ -arasnei-/ arnsnei⁸¹⁹ (silver)
2. τ nuvkirinum ν alaf[ater]num⁸²⁰ (silver)
3. nuvrikum alaften[um]⁸²¹ (silver)
4. nuvrikum alavfnum⁸²² (silver)
5. nuvkrinum ala β aternum⁸²³ (bronze)
6. nuvkrium alafaternum τ regvinum ravalanum⁸²⁴ (bronze)
7. nuvkrinum alafaternum⁸²⁵ (bronze)
8. núvkrinum alafaternúm⁸²⁶ (bronze)
9. núvkrínúm alafaternum⁸²⁷ (bronze)

The weight of the Nucerian silver coins follows that of the Neapolitan coinage in the first half of the third century BC. On the obverse of all the didrachms we have the head of a young man with long hair and a ram's horn. The reverse of the coins depicts a naked young man, perhaps one of the Dioscuri, holding a horse by its harness and leaning on a javelin. Most of the bronze coins bear the head of a young man on the obverse and a dog

⁸¹⁹ ST nCm 3c, Co 144, Bu 76.

⁸²⁰ ST nCm 3g.

⁸²¹ ST nCm 3h.

⁸²² ST nCm 3i.

⁸²³ ST nCm 3a, Co 144, Bu 76.

⁸²⁴ ST nCm 3b

⁸²⁵ ST nCm 3d

⁸²⁶ ST nCm 3e.

⁸²⁷ ST nCm 3f.

feeding on the reverse. Some of the bronze coins bear a head of a young man with long hair tied with a band on the obverse, and on the reverse the Dioscuri galloping. Another type shows an Apollo head crowned with laurel on the obverse and a feeding dog on the reverse. Cantilena suggests on the basis of the similarities of type and weight with the Neapolitan coinage that the minting of the Nucerian coinage may have begun towards the mid-third century BC.⁸²⁸

The head of the young man has been the subject of numerous interpretations. He has traditionally been thought to be a personification of the god of the river Sarno.⁸²⁹ Some have identified him with the Nucerian hero called Epidius, son of Epidius Nuncionis (the Nucerian?). Suetonius recounts that this hero fell into the river, emerged with horns and later was numbered among the gods.⁸³⁰ However, Cantilena doubts that an author from the imperial period would refer to a legend depicted on coins from the middle of the third century BC.⁸³¹ She also rejects the idea of the young man being the personification of the river-god. She notes that the gods of rivers usually have straight horns like those of a bull, rather than twisted horns like those of a ram. In her opinion the young man should be interpreted as Apollo Karneios, the god of the Doric people, well known in the Peloponnese, and protector of armies and those who explore new territories. Virgil and Servius mention an ancient population, the Sarrhastes.⁸³² Servius says that they came from the Peloponnese and that they were the first inhabitants of the Sarno region, gave their name to the river and founded Nuceria. In my opinion Cantilena's doubts are unnecessary and the best view is that he is a local deity, whose

⁸²⁸ Cantilena (1994) 10.

⁸²⁹ Cantilena (1994) 10.

⁸³⁰ Suet. *De claris rhetoribus* 4.

⁸³¹ Cantilena (1994) 11.

⁸³² Virgil 7. 738, Servius Ad Aen. 7. 738.

story, recorded in local traditions, survived to the early empire and was known to Suetonius.

There is no doubt that the coins were minted by Naples for Nuceria Alfaterna because the name of the community appears in the genitive plural. The legends with the name of the issuing community usually appear around the head of the young man on the coins. The silver type no. 2 is the only case where we find *nuvkirinum* on one side and *alaff[ater]num* on the other. The direction of the legend is from the right to the left. The letters are Oscan, with the exception of the type no. 5 where Greek β is used. In the cases of the type no. 3 and 4 the letters are mixed up and the name of the city appears as *nuvirkum*.

Interpretation of the legends on the reverse of the types no. 1 and 6 has caused some debate. The word *-arasnei-/arnsnei-* on the coin no.1 has been expanded as *(S)arasne(is)*, *(S)arnsne(is)* or *(S)arnine(r)*. Cantilena excludes the third expansion.⁸³³ It is generally believed that this denotes the Sarrasthes (see above) and thus is an ethnic name.⁸³⁴ Cantilena challenges this idea and suggests that the *-ei* ending is either locative or genitive singular and refers to the name of a river.⁸³⁵ The legend of the coin would mean: '(coin) of the Nuceria Alfaternians, (those who live) in the region of the (S)arno' or '(those) of the region of the (S)arno'. But, again, the omission of the first letter is very unlikely. Rutter instead suggests that the legend is derived from a personal name, *Arasne*.⁸³⁶ However the first case of Italic coins with a general's name, G. Papius

⁸³³ Cantilena (1994) 12.

⁸³⁴ De Caro (1992) 87 argued that the Sarrastes constituted the common ethnic of the confederation. D'Agostino (1982) 42 went as far as to suggest that the coins document the survival of this ethnic tribe, which provided the Nucertian league with a political core.

⁸³⁵ Cantilena (1994) 12.

⁸³⁶ Rutter (2001) 72.

Mutilus, comes from the Social War, so this is equally unlikely. Perhaps *arasne* was the name of a *vereia*.

The legend on the reverse of type no. 6, *regvinum ravalanum*, is in the genitive plural, similar to *nuvkrinum alafaternum*, which suggests that it is an ethnic name. Unfortunately, we know nothing about it. Cantilena suggests a link to *Egvini*, the Oscan name of the Dioscuri, who are often associated with the cavalry.⁸³⁷ It is possible that it is the name of a group of cavalry, a type of *vereia*.

Although the coins of Nuceria Alfaterna used the Neapolitan weight standard, they do not share the iconographic type of Apollo and the bull which was widespread in the area of Naples, northern Campania, southern Latium and parts of Samnium.⁸³⁸ Their images instead recall the iconography of the coins of Tarentum. This may be seen as an attempt to create a distance between the coinage of the rest of Campania, which was influenced by Rome, and instead to create a link to the Greek world of Southern Italy. There is no intrinsic reason to suppose that these coins were minted for a community larger than Nuceria Alfaterna itself, probably to pay its own soldiers.

6. 6. 3. The Confederation of Cirta

Two points of Beloch's thesis relate to the *gens Sittia*. Firstly, because numerous members of this *gens* are attested in Latin funerary inscriptions in the coastal towns of the Nuceria region, Beloch argued that this *gens* played an important role in the political life of the towns under the leadership of Nuceria. Conversely, outside the borders of the

⁸³⁷ Cantilena (1994) 13.

⁸³⁸ Cantilena (1994) 13.

supposed confederation the members of this family seem to have been freedmen of no political importance.⁸³⁹ The common origins of an elite seem to be a weak argument for the political organization of the supposed Nucerian League. It is true that the number of the members of the *gens Sittia* was high in the coastal towns of the southern part of the Neapolitan bay, and Teutsch has collected more Sittii in Pompeii.⁸⁴⁰ However, numerous members of this *gens* appear also at Rome, Ostia and Terracina, not of inferior status.⁸⁴¹ Furthermore, all the inscriptions Beloch cited presumably date from the first and second centuries AD, that is from the period when the supposed League must have been dissolved for at least two centuries. Oscan *gentilicia* are often found in more than one political community.⁸⁴² The prominence of the Sittii in several towns of southern Campania does not imply that those towns formed a federation.

The second argument in which Beloch mentions the *gens Sittia* is that of the so-called confederation of Cirta. The Nucerian P. Sittius, an entrepreneur and leader of a mercenary contingent he had collected in Spain and Italy, received part of the territory of Massinissa from Caesar for his services to him, divided among his soldiers.⁸⁴³ Beloch argued that Sittius founded colonies and drew up a constitution for the region similar to the arrangements of the Nucerian league, his homeland: the capital of the League was the *Colonia Julia Iuvenalis Honoris et Virtutis Cirta*. Three colonies were subordinate to Cirta: *Colonia Veneria Rusicade*, *Colonia Sarnensis Mileu* and *Colonia Minervia Chullu*.⁸⁴⁴ These colonies were known as the *III Coloniae Cirtenses*. Beloch claimed that the colonies were named after the patron deities of the three leading cities of the Nucerian confederation, that is Pompeii, Nuceria and Surrentum. He also suggested that

⁸³⁹ Beloch (1877) 286-9.

⁸⁴⁰ Teutsch (1962) 65.

⁸⁴¹ Teutsch (1962) 65.

⁸⁴² See sections 2. 5, 3. 4 and 5. 5.

⁸⁴³ App. Bell. Civ. 4. 54.

the confederation of Cirta was led by its *duoviri*, while *tresviri praefecti iure dicundo* were sent out to the subordinate colonies.

Heurgon's article followed Beloch.⁸⁴⁵ He suggested that P. Sittius brought the federal arrangement of the region from Nuceria and 'founded a New Campania' in Africa. According to Heurgon, the so-called confederation of Cirta was governed by *tresviri IIII coloniarum* and *aediles IIII coloniarum*, and the three colonies were under *praefecti iure dicundo*. The common council of the federation was formed by the *decuriones IIII coloniarum*. Heurgon then reversed the argument to suggest that at Nuceria the federal *meddix tuticus* and two *aediles* had formed a college of *tresviri*, whereas the *meddices* and *quaestores* were local magistrates. This reconstruction certainly cannot stand. Senatore points out that Heurgon's comparison of the *tresviri* of Cirta with those of Latin communities is not correct, because the *tresviri aediles* of Arpinum, Fundi and Formiae were civic magistrates and not part of a federal structure.⁸⁴⁶ More fundamentally, Laffi has thrown serious doubt on Beloch's and Heurgon's reconstruction of the political structures of the Cirtan colonies and the date of their implementation.⁸⁴⁷

Certainly the names of the Cirtan colonies relate to the Sarno valley and they had a large number of colonists from the area of Nuceria. However, their political structure remains uncertain, and even if Beloch and Heurgon were partly right, we must accept Senatore's view that there is no evidence of imitation of previous local Oscan political

⁸⁴⁴ Beloch (1877) 295-6; Beloch (1879) 241.

⁸⁴⁵ Heurgon (1957) 7-24.

⁸⁴⁶ Senatore (2001) 232-8.

⁸⁴⁷ Appian. *B. C.* 4. 54. Laffi (1966) 135-147. The foundation date of the colony is also supported by Keppie (1983) 83

structures.⁸⁴⁸ The known institutions of the Cirtan colonies have adequate Roman models.

6. 7. Conclusions

Roman and Greek sources for the region do not support the view of a confederation under the leadership of Nuceria Alfaterna. The adjective Alfaterna was not used as an ethnic to denote the population of the supposed confederation. It may have originally been an ethnic, but in literary sources and on coins it qualified only the name of the town of Nuceria. Furthermore, our literary evidence relates only to the city of Nuceria and not to a larger political organization. Beloch's suggestion that the lack of reference to other towns in the region implies their subordination to Nuceria does not seem to be well founded.

Nuceria's leading economic role in the region as provider of coins for the members of the confederation has also been rejected: the coins with the legend *irnθii* may be cited as evidence that there could have been another community in the region to produce coins. Nothing suggests that the coins showing the name Nuceria Alfaterna were minted for the use of more than a single city, perhaps to pay its own soldiers.

Beloch's claim that the members of the *gens* Sittia were of higher rank only within the supposed confederation has been rejected. Furthermore, it has been also doubted, on chronological and institutional grounds, that the confederation of Cirta imitated political

⁸⁴⁸ Senatore (2001) 237 rightly points out that there is a large chronological gap between the foundation of the colony of Cirta and the reorganization of the region under the leadership of the *tresviri*. The foundation of the colonies cannot be related to Sittius and therefore the constitution of the towns cannot be connected to Nuceria.

institutions from the Sarno region. The arrangements of Cirta were probably based on Roman models and cannot be used to argue for a confederation organization in the region of the river Sarno.

Of the members of the supposed Nucerian league, Pompeii provides us with the largest amount of epigraphic evidence for the Samnite period. We have attestations of a *meddix tuticus*, *meddix* and *meddix pompeianus*. The *dipinto* on the fragment of an amphora suggest that the office of *meddix* was used for dating, which suggests that it was annual, eponymous and probably identical with the office of *meddix tuticus*. It has been argued that the ethnic does not make a difference to the title, which makes it probable that the office of *meddix Pompeiianus* was identical to that of *meddix tuticus*. Thus it follows that the office of *meddix tuticus* was a local one at Pompeii and not a federal. We also have evidence for lower rank officers at Pompeii: pairs of *aediles* and *quaestores* are attested. They both appear to have been local magistrates. From what we can know about the functions of the aediles, it seems that they had similar responsibilities to the *aediles* of Rome, whence the name of the office derives. The quaestors saw to the collection of public money, often from fines, and its spending on building programmes according to the advice of the councils. This makes their function similar to those of the *meddices degetasii* of Nola and the *aediles* at Rome. We also have evidence for the existence of two councils at Pompeii, the *kúmbennieís* (gen. sing.) and *[kú]mparakineís* (gen. sing.). On the analogy of other Campanian and southern Italian Greek cities it is probable that one of them was the senate and the other the general assembly, but that is all we can infer from the names. Both councils were involved in dealing with public money which in Rome was normally the function of the senate. A study of the *gens* names of the *meddices tutici* and other magistrates suggests that in the Samnite period the magistracies were not restricted to a small number of families, and

they were probably filled by election. We also have evidence for a *vereia* at Pompeii. It seems that by the middle of the second century BC this organization had become a civic educational institution.

Herculaneum has also yielded evidence for a *meddix tuticus*, who, similarly to Pompeii, was a local civic officer. The study of *meddices tutici*, *aediles* and quaestors in the region show that they were all local and not federal magistrates.

The *meddices Minervii*, however, were probably public officers from Surrentum, responsible solely for the maintenance of the extra-urban sanctuary. This office also suggests that the term *meddix* became a general term for any magistracy or public office.

I conclude therefore that there is no good literary, epigraphic or numismatic evidence to suggest that the towns of Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae and Surrentum were subordinate to Nuceria Alfaterna. They were independent civic communities between the fourth and the first centuries BC. The only possible piece of evidence for closer relations between them is their allocation to the same voting tribe, the Menenia, after the Social War, but that could have been for purely geographical reasons.

Chapter 7. Conclusions

7. 1. Problems and aims of the thesis

The thesis studied the Samnite political institutions in two geographical regions, the central Apennines and Campania, between the fifth and first centuries BC on the basis of literary, archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic evidence. The thesis focused on the supposed existence of a long-lived Samnite league with the participation of four Samnite tribes in the central Apennines and the existence of confederations under the leadership of Capua, Nola and Nuceria in Campania.

7. 2. Institutions

The study of the *touta*, a supposed political unit, is fundamental for the understanding of the Samnite political institutions. The *touta* in the fifth century BC was probably the equivalent of the *nomen*, a self-conscious ethnic group with a common name, language and sentiment, similarly to the *nomen Latinum*, *nomen Etruscum* and *nomen Hernicum*, as the inscriptions from Penna Sant'Andrea imply. Later references to the Marrucini, Umbri and the city of Messina in Sicily suggest that the word *touta* was used to denote an urban entity with its citadel (*arx*). The study of the *touta* in Samnium and Campania is, however, hindered by the lack of direct references, since we have evidence for the *touta* in these two regions only through the qualifying adjective of the *meddix tuticus*

title. My investigation has led to the view, like that of La Regina, that the Pentri of the central Apennines formed one *touta* in the period from which our epigraphic evidence dates, the third and second centuries BC. A *touta* in Campania probably denoted an urban community with its civic territory. It is not plausible that the subdivisions of a *touta* were the *pagi* and I have suggested instead that the local units of a *touta* may have been urban or pre-urban settlements, some possibly within hill-forts (Monte Vairano, Curino).

The office of the *meddix tuticus* was single, eponymous and annual in all regions. Among the highland Samnites, a *meddix tuticus* was the leader of the federal state of the Pentri. In Campania, a *meddix tuticus* was the leader of a city-state, as the title of *meddix tuticus Campanus* suggests, the political leader of the city of Capua. We also have attestations of the title in Pompeii and Herculaneum. If the names appearing on tile stamps at Pompeii are those of the names of the *meddices tutici* of that town, it may be argued that the office was open to a wide selection of citizens and was probably elective.

The plain title *meddix* probably stood for the office of *meddix tuticus*, in those places where the *meddix tuticus* acted as a civic magistrate. This is argued in the cases of *meddix campanus* and *meddix pompeianus*. In contrast, among the Pentri it may have been a local magistrate as the *meddix* of Fagifulae suggests. The title is sometimes qualified by adjectives which may express particular functions. Among the functions of the *meddix degetasius* of Nola was the demarcation of public land and the collection of public money from fines. The *meddix Minervius* was probably the superintendent of the sanctuary of Minerva at Punta della Campanella. The functions of *meddix v* and *meddix x* are unknown.

The names of lower rank titles in both regions – censors, aediles and quaestors – suggest that they were of Roman origin. The title of *censor* is attested in an inscription in the territory of the Pentri and in a second inscription found at Capua in which the *cognomen* Censorinus is used (Trebius Virrius Censorinus). The functions of these magistrates are not known, but it is possible that they were associated with the assessment of the fiscal and military obligations, like the Roman censors. The title of *aedilis* is attested in inscriptions found in the territory of the Pentri and at Pompeii. At Pompeii, the inscriptions indicate that they had responsibilities for delimiting and paving roads, functions similar to those of the *aedilis* at Rome. Among the Pentri their functions are not known. The quaestors appear only in Campania, at Abella and Pompeii. At Abella, like the *meddices degetasii* of nearby Nola, they are attested as delimiting public land. At Pompeii, the quaestors were responsible for the collection of fines, a function which was associated with the aediles at Rome. We obviously do not have a complete picture of these titles among the highland Samnites and in Campania, but what emerges is that the magistrates of different titles at different places had functions that were remarkably similar. Thus the denomination of an office was probably result of local preference and the functions of offices were not fixed but directed by local needs. This makes it impossible to create common models explaining the functions of magistracies; these must be studied locally.

In the Greco-Roman world, the general pattern of government was based on the tripartite system of assemblies, a council and magistrates. At different states we can observe the variations of these common features. At Rome, we find assemblies and a senate, whose membership after Sulla was restricted to those who held administrative posts. It was reserved for the wealthy, and it was for life. The power of magistrates was

remarkably wider than in the Greek world. The constitutions of the Greek cities on the Italian mainland, which grew out of diverse historical backgrounds, varied according to the constitution of their founding mother cities, but also altered with time and according to local needs. In some of the Greek city-states, the members of the council, which was called either βουλή or συνεδριον, were elected from a restricted number of candidates and the membership was not for life, as at Rome. A number of Southern Italian communities are known to have re-named their local councils as senates with the progression of Romanization, but they mostly retained their constitutions and magistrates until the Social War, and in some Greek cities, even after the war. In the central Apennines, we have evidence for possibly two councils, as attestations of *legú* and *senatus*, both from Schiavi d'Abruzzo, suggest. Similarly, evidence for two bodies emerged at Pompeii which could issue orders, the *kúmbennieís* (gen. sing.) and *[kú]mparakineís* (gen. sing) were attested in inscriptions. One of the two councils may have been a popular assembly, the other a council. At Capua, Livy mentions, perhaps on the Roman model, that a local senate and a popular assembly existed in the city. The Cippus Abellanus tells us that Nola and Abella had one senate each and literary sources suggest that Nola may have had a popular assembly too. The constitutions of Samnite states therefore fit well in the general tripartite political system of the Greco-Roman world.

The other piece of evidence for communal organization among the Samnites is the attestations of *vereia* at Capua, Cumae and Pompeii. The *vereia* may have originally been a private war band but by the third and second centuries BC it became a civic institution for state military training.

Studies of Samnite *gentes* in Samnium and Campania show the movement of elite groups between the two regions. The investigation has also revealed that a number of *gentes* were attested in leading roles at different locations, such as the Staii, Statii, Calavii, Magii and Satrii.

7. 3. Political institutions of Samnium and Campania

In the second chapter, I argued that the literary accounts, coins and the triumphal fasti suggest that the Samnite tribes and urban communities formed loose temporary alliances to wage wars and promote common religious cults. Defeat in the Samnite wars resulted in the breaking up of military alliances and the birth of individual Samnite states. The chapter focuses on the political institutions of the Pentri tribe, the best researched territory which has yielded the largest amount of epigraphic and archaeological evidence. Until further evidence emerges, the model of La Regina has been accepted as the most plausible. This model suggests that the Pentri formed a federal state between the fourth and first centuries BC. I have, however, pointed out that the model allows little possibility for constitutional developments as result of the foundation of the colony at Aesernia. The changes in the settlement system, the growth of rural settlements and slow urbanization in the second century BC may also have contributed to the modification of the political system in the period between the fourth and the first centuries BC. New epigraphic data may shed more light on the relations between the hill-forts, settlement system and the political institutions to allow us to compare similar relations in the territories of the Lucani and Marsi.

In chapters three to six, I have suggested that there are indications that in Campania there were no long-term political federations. The terms *Campanus* and *Alfaternus* were not used to denote members of confederations, but inhabitants of civic communities. The magistracies *meddix tuticus*, *aedilis* and *quaestor* were local, civic officials rather than federal magistrates. Coinages showing the legends Capua, Nola and Nuceria Alfaterna were issued for the use of civic communities and not to serve as federal currency. I have concluded therefore that there is no good evidence for the existence of the supposed Campanian hegemony, apart from perhaps Atella, Calatia and Sabatinum. Cumae was independent from Capua. Nola and Abella were independent civic communities between the fourth and first centuries BC. Similarly, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae and Surrentum seem to have been separate civic communities. It is, however, plausible that communities in Campania formed religious and perhaps short-term military alliances, as the cults celebrated by Cumae and Capua at Hamae suggest.

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Maps

LEGEND

- A: Tretture Aquila-Foggia
- B: " " Centurelle-Montesecco
- C: " " Sant'Andrea-Bierno
- D: " " Celano-Foggia
- E: " " Lucera-Castel di Sangro
- F: " " Pescasserelli-Candela
- L: " " Atelata-Bierno
- H: Tretturelle Ururi-Serrecapriola
- N: " " Pescocostanzo-Sprondasino
- M: " " Sprondasino - Castel del Giudice
- G: Braccio Cortile-Centocelle
- K: " " Cortile-Matese











